University of Alberta

Mobility and Desire:
Seventeenth-Century English Women's Travel and Utopian Writings

by

Rachel Mary Warburton ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 2002

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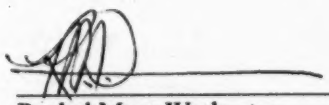

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Patricia Demers, for her unfailing support. My committee members, Glenn Burger and Stephen Slemon, provided ongoing assistance and asked thoughtful, incisive questions. Thank you. I am also grateful for fellowships from SSHRC and the University of Alberta.

I would not have been able to complete this project without the support of my mother, Wendy Hilditch, my father, Bob Warburton, and my late grandfather, Andrew Hilditch. Each of them intervened with generous support at several crucial moments. This project would have been a great deal less pleasant without the love and support of my friends and family, especially the distractions provided by my nephews, Oscar Warburton, Stuart Kauffman, and Jack Goldberg, who remind me of the continuing importance of play.

Finally, editrix extraordinaire Susan Goldberg insisted I make connections, unearth buried points, and write more clearly. To the extent that I have learned to do those things at all, she is responsible. Thank you for seeing me through the dissertation.

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on early modern English texts that detail "new" and imaginary worlds. It examines nascent early modern discourses of national and racial membership with particular attention to the mechanisms by which these discourses also sexualize the bodies they describe. The seventeenth century occupies a moment immediately prior to extensive colonization; the still largely unsettled colonies therefore offer sites for the articulation of imagined possibilities for mobility and reconfigured social relations. Narratives of real and imagined contact produce an imperial subject in opposition to variously feminized, darkened, or sodomitical inhabitants of other worlds.

In the introduction, I review the social and political implications of late sixteenth-century travel writing, which, I maintain, inform the imaginative experiments of the subsequent century. I also examine early modern utopias—More's *Utopia* and Bacon's *New Atlantis*, in particular—as they relate to contemporary travel narratives. Like contemporary travel narratives, both More and Bacon construct hypervisible and normative masculine subjects through relations of contact and mobility.

Margaret Cavendish's writings, the subject of the first chapter, articulate a desire for female intellectual community and government. Like More's and Bacon's utopias, however, I find that Cavendish's utopian narratives rely on the logic of colonial expansion for their intelligibility. In the second chapter, this dissertation examines the grammars of desire of Fifth Monarchist Mary Cary's millennialist utopias and prophetic writing. In the third chapter I argue that, Quaker women travel writers such as Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers also rely upon a heteronormative framework in order to authorize their own mobility. In so doing, however, Evans and Chevers also undermine

the presumed hierarchy of relationships in early modern women's lives and elevate female friendship to equal status with marriage. The final chapter analyzes captivity/rescue dialectic as it pertains to the lives of Pocahontas, an "Indian princess" captured by colonists and converted to Christianity, and Mary Rowlandson, a New England Puritan who, in 1682, published a narrative of her own captivity amongst the Narragansett nation. English women's writings, I conclude, occupy a complicated, and sometimes complicitous, relation to the ideological history of burgeoning colonial expansion and nascent nationalism.

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Introduction: Desire and Nationhood in Early Modern Utopias and Travel Narratives

This project began as the elaboration of my master's thesis on the semiotics of early modern transvestism. That project examined historical, dramatic, and literary examples of women who donned doublets and hose in order to masquerade as men. Women such as Mary Frith, who inspired Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker's *Roaring Girl*, and Long Meg of Westminster acquired considerable notoriety for their cross-dressing.[1] Such sartorial transgressions were, however, read by early modern readers through race-conscious lenses. The anonymous author of the anti-cross-dressing pamphlet *Hic Mulier: or, The Man-Woman* (1620), for example, describes a presumed army of women following in Frith's footsteps: "If this bee not barbarous," the writer declares, "make the rude Scithian, the untamed Moore, the naked Indian, or the wilde Irish, Lords and Rulers of well governed Cities." Female masculinity is here linked to a general overturning of the presumed hierarchy of peoples and nations. Cross-dressing women's transgression, I argued, is also a linguistic or grammatical one, a failure to use the proper *national* language.

The writer of *Hic Mulier* begins his rant with a series of grammatical metaphors that insist that sartorial transgressions are faulty translations that threaten proper syntax:

> Hic Mulier; How now? Break *Priscians* head at the first encounter? but two words, and they false Latine? Pardon mee good Signior *Construction;*

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[1] For a discussion of the two women as "Renaissance London Heroines," see Frederick Waage's "Meg and Moll," *Journal of Popular Culture* (1986): 105-117.

> for I will not answere thee as the Pope did, that I will doe it in despight of the Grammar: but I will mainetaine, it if bee not the *truest* Latine in our Kingdome, yet it is the commonest. For since the daies of *Adam* women were never *so* masculine; Masculine in their genders and whole generations, from the Mother, to the youngest daughter; Masculine in Case, even from the head to the foot; Masculine in Moode, from bold Speech, to impudent action; and Masculine in Tense: for (without redresse) they were, are, and will be still most masculine, most mankinde, and most monstrous. (sig. A3)

Monstrous women are equated to monstrosities in the national language, a vernacular understood to be a close descendent of Latin. Similarly, the *Roaring Girl*'s Moll Cutpurse's use of cant and Dutch renders her incomprehensible to some and casts her in the dubious realm of the unstable signifier. More generally, references to "Italian" dress pepper early modern plays that introduce the spectre of sodomy and syphilis, and which connect "excessive" clothing with sexual transgressions.

Although cross-dressing enabled the likes of Mary Frith to move freely about London while simultaneously raising panic about the un-Englishness of such attire, early modern gendered conditions of mobility cannot be completely accounted for by transvestism. Out of that exploration of the semiotics of transvestism as a translative project rose two, interrelated issues: the conditions of possibility for women's social and physical mobility, and the sexualization of early modern renderings of race and nation. This is the subject of the current work.

Perhaps our first hint that early modern racial designations do not map neatly onto our own is *Hic Mulier*'s conflation of Scythians, "Moores," Indians, and the Irish. That early modern strategies of racialization are not identical to contemporary categories of race (usually based on a visual economy of difference), however, does not mean that there was no understanding of race in the period. Part of what follows is an attempt to insist on the importance of highly unstable understandings of race and nation in early modern women's writings about social, political, and physical mobility and, to a lesser extent, to attempt to limn out the contours of those categories.

Travel and Utopian Narratives

This project, then, was designed to extend the discussion of female mobility with an examination of seventeenth-century women travellers. From the outset, travel writing and utopian visions were so thoroughly intermixed that it proved impossible and undesirable to treat one category in isolation from the other. In the sixteenth-century models with which I begin, the link between travel and utopia was pronounced. Early travel narratives, such as many of those compiled by Hakluyt, presented "new" discoveries as projections of the Golden Age or lost Eden. Conversely, utopian narratives, notably Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) and Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), both take the form of a traveller's tale. Since Arthur Morgan's controversial, and unsubstantiated, claim that More knew of the Inca Empire and that *Utopia* was his attempt to offer an account of that empire, several critics have made attempts to locate More's fictional account within

burgeoning colonial discourse (Morgan). This endeavour can sometimes be reduced to anachronistic claims that have More predicting colonial exploration.[2]

With the possible exception of Margaret Cavendish's *oeuvre*, utopian writings and travel narratives continued to occupy increasingly distinct genres as the seventeenth century progressed, although the borders between the two remained productively unstable. Indeed, the two forms remain interconnected in important ways. One thing both genres, in all their variety, retain is a shared investment in strategies for signifying difference, either between the traveller(s) and the inhabitants of "new" and imaginary worlds or between the ideal state and (an undesignated) England.

The two genres—New World travel narrative and utopian vision—intersect for a brief moment in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1613). In his edition of the play, Stephen Orgel cites two early-seventeenth-century pamphlets as its possible sources: Sylvester Jourdain's *A Discovery of the Bermudas* (1610) and the Virginia Company's *The True Declaration of the estate of the colony of Virginia* (1610) (Shakespeare).[3] The play's imaginary island is thus inscribed in narratives of "discovery" and of exploitative trade relations in the New World. This late Shakespearean comedy, with its complex relations between Caliban, Miranda, and Prospero, has become a setpiece in colonial discourse

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[2] Marina Leslie (1998) resists such symptomatic historical readings in her positioning of *Utopia* within the context of early modern cartography and Humanist attentiveness to language.

[3] Numerous other early modern texts are possible sources for Gonzalo's speech, including Montaigne's "Of Cannibals," translated into English by John Florio in 1603, an early argument for cultural relativism that is based on the Tupinamba of Brazil.

analysis and has inspired numerous feminist and postcolonial rewritings.[4] When he is shipwrecked on the island that has provided all necessities—including an indentured labour force—to sustain Prospero and Miranda during their twelve-year tenure, Gonzalo, Prospero's trusty counsellor, envisions a utopian commonwealth:

> I' th' commonwealth I would by contraries
> Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
> Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
> Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
> And use of service, none; contract, succession,
> Bourn, bound of land tilth, vineyard, none'
> No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
> No occupation; all men idle, all;
> And women too, but innocent and pure;
> No sovereignty.
> ...
> All things in common nature should produce
> Without sweat or endeavour. Treason, felony,
> Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
> Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,
> Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
> To feed my innocent people. (II.i.139-55)

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[4] See *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft et al. (New York: Routledge, 1989).

Although Gonzalo is never given the opportunity to explicate the details of his vision, this speech offers an inventory of the concerns of contemporary utopian writing: trade, justice, learning, distribution of wealth, means and relations of production, and forms of government.

Like many early modern utopian writers, Gonzalo desires a world in which the punishment prescribed for Adam and his descendants, including the sweat of men's labour, are eradicated.[5] The vision of plenty that inspires Gonzalo is made possible, however, by Prospero's magical and brutal control over the lives and bodies of Caliban and Ariel. Gonzalo's seemingly innocent speech, then suggests complex relations between colonization and utopian visions. Given that he is such a trusted character, Gonzalo's unthinking abdication of the moderation for which he is otherwise known suggests that the interconnectedness of utopian desiring and New World devastation remained unexamined and invisible, associations that are sometimes explicit but certainly implicit in many other seventeenth-century utopias.

In his survey of the "utopian impulse" in seventeenth-century England, Keith Thomas suggests that this period saw a revival of interest in utopian visions inspired by More, whose *Utopia* resuscitated a genre little used since classical times. Thomas catalogues eight different types of utopian writing prevalent in the late English Renaissance, all of which, he argues, presume that "man was fallen and nature

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[5] Importantly, the return to Eden that Gonzalo desires does not explicitly address the penalties prescribed for Eve's descendants: the pains of childbirth. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of Cary's "feminism" in light of her inclusion of relief for labour pains in *The New and More Exact Mappe*.

recalcitrant" (Thomas 31).[6] Compared to the acceptance of post-lapsarian hardships Thomas suggests prevails in previous centuries, the seventeenth century became more hopeful about the possibilities for alleviating earthly afflictions. Roughly divided into two groups—millenarians who believed divine intervention would remove earthly miseries and reformers who believed humankind's fundamental inadequacies could be corrected by social engineering—utopian writers flourished in this period.

Early modern travel and utopian writing intertwine in a number of ways, not the least of which is their shared interest in issues of sexuality and the production of normative masculine subjects. They are also linked thematically and structurally, as utopian narratives are often represented as journeys to unknown lands and travel narratives frequently offered as searches for remnants of the Golden Age or a lost Eden. This similarity is played out in the strategies of surveillance central to More's *Utopia,* Bacon's *New Atlantis,* and Sir Walter Ralegh's *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596). The

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[6] Thomas's categories are as follows: 1. "Literary utopias" such as Bacon's *New Atlantis*; 2. "Elaborate schemes for ideal commonwealths though [unlike literary utopias] without the fictional pretence that such a commonwealth already existed" such as Hobbes's *Leviathan*; 3. "The making of new constitutions for the government of England" (27); 4. "Idealized descriptions of other societies which did exist," such as ancient Rome or Israel (28); 5. "Secret or semi-secret societies, pledged to the reform of the world" such as the Rosicrucians (28); 6. A "small but active circle" around Samuel Hartlib in the 1640s "pledged to the dissemination of science, the reform of schools and universities, the improvement of technology, the achievement of full employment, the discovery of a universal language and the union of the churches" variously located in Virginia or Bermuda (29); 7. Various "smaller communities deliberately created by idealistic individuals to enable their members to live a more perfect existence" (30) and; 8. The so-called "projectors," "ingenious people with an affinity of schemes of reform" such as workhouses (30).

imagined societies of More's and Bacon's respective utopian narratives are structured around the hyper-visibility of their subjects. This visibility serves as a regulatory mechanism, policing and producing authorized sexual subjects. Ralegh's *Discoverie,* on the other hand, offers a portrait of well-behaved English sailors for the benefit of Elizabeth I. Unlike their Spanish counterparts, his crew, Ralegh insists, offered no sexual threat to the indigenous women in Guiana. This representation serves to authorise Ralegh's own sexually precarious position at Elizabeth's court and stands in tension with his sexualization of the land. All three authors mobilize contemporary discourses of sexual regulation in their representations of contact with real and imagined others. And they all participate in the production of a gendered and sexualized ideal English subject.

In More's *Utopia*, Morus meets an itinerant Portuguese traveller, Raphael Hythloday, who relates details of his journey to Amaurotum. More specifically, Hythloday describes Utopian social and political organization with special attention to the treatment of criminals and the distribution of work and wealth. The frame narrative permits More, the writer and statesman, to stage a discussion with the much-travelled Hythloday about the merits of advising kings and courtiers. As Stephen Greenblatt has argued, More's narrative is highly self-conscious and contradicts or ironizes any one position it might be said to take up. Greenblatt (1980) finds that, like Holbein's "The Ambassadors," two mutually contradictory planes of existence are offered within *Utopia;* he describes this as More's simultaneous self-fashioning and self-cancellation. As feminist commentators on Greenblatt have noted, this "self," whether fashioned or cancelled or a combination of both, is not equally available to female as to male subjects. While this is an important consideration, it is not the final word on Greenblatt's analysis,

nor is it completely accurate.[7] Greenblatt's main interest, however, remains the public life of More. Although he is attentive to the strategies of shaming and surveillance at work in *Utopia,* his emphasis on the politics of Henry VIII's court mean that he underrates the narrative's investment in the production of gendered and sexualized subjects.

In the ideal community rendered through Hythloday's travel narrative and ironized by Morus, little social distinction is recognized. As always, however, the exceptions are telling. Although the Hythloday begins with the insistence that no distinctions of dress are maintained in Utopia, he immediately contradicts himself with the exception of male and female dress and, even more importantly, married versus unmarried dress. This means that sex and marital status are both immediately legible within Utopia's sartorial semiotics. Greenblatt, though alive to these exceptions, underrates their importance in the production of masculine, heterosexual subjects. According to Greenblatt, every moment of apparently unlimited freedom the text offers is immediately undermined; he relates this dual motion to More's use of *litotes*, a kind of double negative. The disparity between the naked assertion and the reality is also at work in Amaurotum's sartorial codes. As a result, a particular, heteronormative understanding of sexual status is rendered visible in *Utopia*.

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[7] Diane Purkiss's discussion of seventeenth-century women prophets, for example, suggests precisely such strategies of "self-cancellation" at work in the writing of several women. She finds that several early modern prophetesses deploy metaphors of corporeal consumption or disintegration in order to justify or underwrite their texts. See her "Producing the voice, consuming the body," *Women, Writing, History: 1640-1740.* Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman, eds. (London: Batsford, 1992): 139-158.

In Bacon's *New Atlantis*, a group of unnamed English sailors stumbles upon Benasalem. The society they discover there exalts a brotherhood of scientists, to which no women are admitted. Bacon's utopian subjectivity, then, consists of membership in an intellectual fraternity revered by society.[8] Bensalemites obey the members of Salomon's House, the "fathers" of society, on all political matters. Full franchise is granted only to these patriarchs. *New Atlantis* also offers strategies for the surveillance and production of normalized sexual subjects. Bensalem's governing body, the House of Solomon, is referred to as the "eye" of Bensalem. Here, too, sexual and familial relations are pressed into the greater interests of the state. One technology of social regulation at work in Bensalem is the Feast of the Family. This feast celebrates male-headed, extended family networks that serve a governing body whose express purpose is to expand the bounds of human knowledge.[9]

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[8] Bensalem's governing body of scientists, the House of Solomon, admits no women. The House of Solomon is modelled after Bacon's hopes for a scientific society that would govern England, hopes that would eventually become the Royal Society. It is worth noting that Margaret Cavendish was admitted to the Society only once and then only as a visitor.

[9] Bensalem's Feast of the Family honours a patriarch whose family has reached thirty direct descendants, all of whom are above three years of age. It provides an opportunity to settle family feuds and to accrue material and symbolic wealth for the family. Although all male and female descendants are present at the ceremony, not all are equal participants. The patriarch, or Tirsan, selects one son who will become the "Son of the Vine." Moreover, if there is one woman out of whose body all the Tirsan's descendants can be said to derive, she is present but only in a marginal and secluded fashion. The mother/grandmother watches the proceedings from behind a curtain.

Bacon's narrative links contemporary scientific questing, burgeoning imperialism, and patriarchal familialism. Denise Albanese has argued that Bacon's scientific writings and his utopian vision are both underwritten by his investments in the Virginia Company. Beginning with an analysis of Bacon's recommendations to James VI and I for the "plantation" of Ireland, Albanese insists that, as with the rest of Bacon's writings, "colonialism is more than a thematized element within the *New Atlantis*: it is a defining move in the emergence of modern scientific practice" (Albanese 505-506). Bacon tropes on colonial expansion in order to further his dream of social ascendancy for his scientific paradigm, a paradigm that privileges the observable world. Albanese makes the connection between empiricism and burgeoning imperialism explicit: "Both expeditions to America and scientific programs propagandize themselves as voyages out, into uncharted territory, where the sense of excitement that attaches to new ventures covers over the work of domination that underwrites exploration of the globe and of nature" (506). Both scientific and travel writers attempt to chart that territory, to bring the "unknown" into the manageable realm of the knowable and, in so doing, set themselves up as arbiters of its truth.

As a travel narrative in search of an ideal country for conquest, Ralegh's *Discoverie* deploys different strategies in the production of a heteronormative male subject. In a famous passage, Ralegh's description renders Guiana feminized and rapable; Guiana, he insists, has her "maydenhead." He produces chaste sailors for the scrutiny of an English audience and for Elizabeth I's benefit. In order to produce the land as feminine and domesticable, Ralegh pushes the threat of Amazonian warrior women to the ever-retreating textual margins. His simultaneous desire for and fear of Amazons is an

inheritance from Mandeville's travels.[10] Ralegh also shares Mandeville's interest in foreign methods of social and sexual regulation as they illuminate English customs. The interest in sexual regulation shared in More's, Bacon's, and Ralegh's various writings serves to produce a gendered and sexualized English subject.[11]

Early Modern Race

Despite their shared interest in the maintenance of sexual difference, the societies of neither Amaurotum nor Bensalem display an interest in racial difference as we understand it today. In fact, both imaginary nations and their inhabitants seem more European than Europe and its citizens. The absence of references to skin colour in More's and Bacon's utopias does not, however, mean that there was no understanding of race at the time. Rather, it signals that early modern strategies of racialization differ from our own. It was early modern commonplace, for example, to lump any or all of Ethiopians, Scythians, "Moors," Indians, and the Irish together, as did the anonymous author of *Hic*

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[10] In fact, Ralegh lifts several images almost directly from Mandeville, Amazons and headless men amongst them.

[11] With the notable exception of Louis Montrose, modern writers on the discourse of "discovery" occlude gender as a category of analysis (Montrose). As Karen Lawrence writes, "[t]heories of travel and those of narrative in which travel serves a central trope most vividly betray their politics of location through a certain blindness to the role of gender in their topographies. Surprisingly, this blindness is also evident in revisionary theories of ethnography, otherwise so attuned to the position of the observer" (11). Walter Mignolo, for example, makes only **brief**, though significant, forays into gender analysis in his otherwise monumental examination of the role of literacy in the colonization of the New World *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, (Ann Arbor: U Michigan P, 1995).

Mulier, cited above. This period also confuses "black, tawny, olive or ash-coloured" (Cavendish 1992, 133) and is more than a little uncertain about how different North American Indians are from Africans, from the European travellers and, as the name given to indigenous peoples suggests, from South Asian Indians. I do not mean to suggest that that seventeenth-century uncertainty opposes our supposed "certainty" about racial differences, nor that one type of racialization is preferable to another. All forms of racialization have material, lived consequences that play out *unevenly* on always-racialized bodies. Further, they are always unstable, historically mutable designations.

In the introduction to their edited collection, *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker take for granted the fact of race as an active category in early modern culture and thought. They remain, however, attuned to the variable meaning of "race" in early modern writings; "'race' as that term developed across several European languages," they write, "was a highly unstable term in the early modern period" (1). As Hendricks and Parker explain, early modern understandings of "race" fluctuate between older distinctions based on nobility and religion and the more modern notions of "race" as a set of physical characteristics:

> At the beginnings of this era, *raza* in Spanish, *raça* in Portuguese or 'race' in French or English variously designated notions of lineage or genealogy, as in the sense of a noble (or Biblical) 'race and stock,' even before its application in Spain to Moors and Jews or its eventual extension to paradigms of physical and phenotypical difference that would become the basis of later discourses of racism and racial difference. Similarly, in the sixteenth century, and from a more Anglocentric perspective, a sense of

> otherness led to the linking of the 'wild Irish' with the Moors, the Scots as well as Scythians as members of a 'barbarous nation.' (Hendricks 2)

Without positing an originary moment at which "race" entered European consciousness, Hendricks and Parker insist that it has a history and, most importantly, that that history informs modern racism. "It is both this varied meaning and its eventual development into later forms of racism and racial distinction that form the explicit focus" of their volume of essays (Hendricks 2).

Kim Hall's study of the gendering of black and white imagery in Renaissance poetry, *Things of Darkness,* is also informed by an antiracist politics in the present. Beginning with concerns that an emphasis on the constructedness of race has the unfortunate effect of a general silencing of discussions about racism, Hall extends that concern to Renaissance studies in particular:

> I am increasingly concerned that much of the seeming anxiety over the propriety of the use of the term 'race' in the Renaissance works to exclude an antiracist politics. Dismissing the term 'race' altogether or imposing absolute historical boundaries between early modern and contemporary constructions may allow us not to think about race either in Renaissance texts or in our classrooms. More specifically, it serves to maintain white privilege in Renaissance studies, the luxury of *not* thinking about race—hence duplicating racism in writing and professional relations. (255)

It is too easy to assume that because early modern uses of "race" are not identical with our own, that the period lacks an understanding of racial difference. Hall connects that easy assumption with a reluctance to engage with the material effects of racism in the

present, both in our selection and analyses of texts and in our pedagogy. To historicize race is to recognize that although the category has not remained stable across time and place, strategies of racialization were at work in the early modern period, as they are now. Further, those strategies structure relations of power that limit the activities of some as they enable others. In part, this project is, I hope, a contribution to the ongoing project of denaturalizing race, not to deny the effects of racism but to participate in a politically engaged textual practice.

Early Modern Ideas of the Nation

Like "race," "nation" is a highly protean concept in early modern English culture. Also as with race, some critics would question the appropriateness of use of the term "nation," and particularly "nationalism," in relation to early modern England. A fully formed sense of national membership, such a position implies, is a product of the Enlightenment and an exclusively modern development. Some theorists of nationalism agree. Benedict Anderson's now classic *Imagined Communities*, for example, insists that "nationalism" is a modern phenomenon. He locates the "origin of national consciousness" with the rise of vernaculars and the advent of printing, more precisely with the appearance of daily newspapers. Over a century earlier, the Reformation-fuelled rise of literacy created, for the first time in history, a large reading public, an audience later newspapers united under the ideology of nationhood. Newspapers, Anderson argues, provide one technology for people who live in remote, separate parts of a country but who share a common language to allow that newspaper-reading audience to imagine that they have something in common with countrymen and -women they have never met.

Liah Greenfeld, on the other hand, locates the rise of national consciousness in England under Henry VIII. She locates anti-foreign sentiment in early sixteenth century riots against continental artisans and a developing vocabulary for the English people: "In the period between 1500 and 1650 several crucial concepts altered their meaning and came into general use. These concepts were 'country,' 'commonwealth,' 'empire,' and 'nation.' … The four words," Greenfeld claims, "became understood as synonyms, acquiring the sense which, with slight alterations, they retained later, but which differed from their separate meanings before" (31). These various shifts were compounded by the increasing sense of entitlement Greenfeld locates in non-aristocratic classes. "The redefinition of nobility in the literature as a status based on merit, and not on birth, was a simple acknowledgment of this change, the transfer of authority from one elite to another…. A fundamental transformation of this kind, however, required a rationalization and justification" (47). That justification, Greenfeld contends, was found in the idea of a nation: "The idea of the nation—of the people as an elite—appealed to the new aristocracy," she continues. "[N]ationality made every Englishman a nobleman, and blue blood was no longer necessary to achieve or aspire to high positions in society. The new aristocracy was a natural aristocracy, an elite of intelligence and virtue, and its superior position was justified by the service it, being so endowed, could render the others" (Greenfeld 47). Here, Greenfeld locates the dawn of nationalist sentiment as a modern phenomenon.

An insistence upon the "modernity" of nationalism, and particularly Anderson's analysis, serves to counter nationalist claims for the naturalness, continuity, internal coherence, and homogeneity of nations. (It should not, however, be taken to disable

historical examinations of the use of the word "nation.") Richard Helgerson examines various genres of sixteenth-century English writing about England to dissect the machinations of nation*hood,* as distinct from later nation*alism*. Like Anderson, Helgerson locates a paradigm shift with the rise of the vernacular. But, like Greenfeld, he sees the displacement of the monarch as the result of burgeoning vernacular culture. In the history plays, descriptive geographies, legal documents, and apocalyptic writing he examines, Helgerson finds that "the queen or king figures significantly in nearly everything they wrote about England. But in most of that writing some other interest or cultural formation—the nobility, the law, the land, the economy, the common people, the church—rivals the monarch as the fundamental source of national identity." These groups, bent on buttressing their own authority, "pushed claims that subverted the absolute claim of the crown" (Helgerson 10).

Although the early modern English women's texts I examine in the chapters that follow detail other worlds, whether real or imaginary, those writings are always also writings about England. As Karen Lawrence puts it, "Travel literature, … by both men and women writers, explores not only potential freedoms but also cultural constraints…. In flights of the imagination, as well as on the road, home is, of course, never totally left behind" (19). For early modern imaginary travel and utopian narratives, what Lawrence's observation suggests is that imagining other worlds is also a reimagining of home. This project makes no attempt to sort out "race" and "nation" in early modern writings. The two categories remain highly mutable, but that lack of fixity does not deprive them of considerable, and increasing, social force.

Gender/Desire/Mobility

For the most part, this dissertation focuses on English women writers from the mid-seventeenth century Civil War years. The primary aim of this endeavour is not, or not simply, to participate in the feminist project of reclaiming "lost" women's voices (although if it does so along the way I will not be upset). My main focus, however, is on the gendered conditions of possibility for imagining other worlds, irrespective of the sex of the author. Metaphors of travel and contact, however, were not equally available to male and female writers. What remains to be seen, nevertheless, are the gendered strategies of invoking newly reconfigured notions of "race" and "nation." By subjecting women's writings of the period to the same critical strategies as we do men's writing we do them the credit of treating them as coequals with their male counterparts. We must also be alive, however, to moments when those critical apparatuses developed to complement (and compliment) a masculine canon, render women's writings unintelligible or "less worthy."

In the first chapter, I outline the ambivalent reception with which some recent critics have greeted Margaret Cavendish's utopian writings and situate her autobiography within seventeenth-century English politics as they play out in her fictional writings. I then proceed to examine the intersections of Cavendish's utopian visions—some travel fantasies, some secular convents—with early modern travel and New World writings. Like her more famous predecessors, More and Bacon, Cavendish blends imaginary travel narrative with the discovery of an ideal world. Like Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Cavendish's utopian writings construct a political and intellectual community denied the author. As with all her writing, Cavendish's experience of exile during the Civil War years informs

her representation of travel and containment, the dual impulses in her utopian writing. Moreover, Cavendish's multihued Blazing World, in her travel fantasy of the same title, cannot be simply viewed as evidence of racial tolerance. To do so is to translate modern understandings of race onto the seventeenth century. Facial features and skin colour, even impossibly azure skin, are not the primary signifiers of racial difference in early seventeenth-century England. This does not mean, however, that Cavendish's utopian visions are not just as deeply implicated in contemporary understandings of race as were those of More and Bacon; they were. But early modern strategies of racialization owe more to a combination of religion, rank, and the new vocabularies of difference derived from exploration and plantation. As I argue in this chapter, metaphors of exploration and colonial plantation inform Cavendish's writing and enable gendered and racialized spaces from which to envision ideal worlds.

The second chapter investigates the intersections between Mary Cary's millennial visions and the histories of utopian and travel writing as they relate to the idea of nation and, by extension, to women's understandings of mobility and space. Cary's prophetic visions invoke a completely different history than that of Cavendish's utopias. Where Cavendish invokes travel literature, drama, and contemporary developments in science and philosophy, Cary aligns herself with a tradition of Biblical hermeneutics and prophecy. Like other Fifth Monarchists, Cary believed that the Bible offered the key to understanding world history and a blueprint for political change. Despite the overriding utopian impulse in her work, however, Cary's place in the utopian canon is even more tenuous than Cavendish's. Read in conjunction with her more overtly political tracts,

Cary's millennial prophecies are also part of an engaged political program in which millennial visions are inseparable from social revolution.

The third chapter examines the relationship between early modern women's critiques of marriage and their access to mobility. Specifically, I look to Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers's narrative of their three-year captivity by the Inquisition at Malta. During their captivity, the two Quaker preachers represented themselves as married to one another. As Quaker women, Evans and Chevers expected to exert control over the terms of marriage. Their careers and those of other Quaker women ministers were supported by the Friends' belief that both the Light, the Quaker belief that the spirit of Christ resides within the individual, and the ability to preach were equally available to both women and men. Quaker women's access to public speech and influence over marriage combine, I argue, to subvert the presumed hierarchy of relationships in a woman's life, a hierarchy that puts her relationship with her husband above all else in her life. That same combination of authority over marriage and public ministry, moreover, are the conditions of mobility for Quaker women: they authorize Evans and Chevers's missionary travel.

Like the ones before it, the final chapter interrogates race, sex, and nation as they pertain to early modern female authority and authorship. Specifically, I examine the captivity/rescue dialectic as it pertains to the lives of Pocahontas, an "Indian princess" captured by colonists and converted to Christianity, and Mary Rowlandson, a New England Puritan who, in 1682, published a narrative of her own captivity. Where Rowlandson is understood to be kidnapped when she is taken from her home and people, Pocahontas, on the other hand, is presumed saved, both by her Christian conversion and

her "rescue" from her own people. Each woman's narrative is underwritten by European settlers' assumptions of native treachery and inscrutability. Moreover, both Rowlandson and the English men who write about Pocahontas invoke several competing and unevenly developed axes of social differentiation to suggest a sexualized and increasingly colour-coded understanding of the "ideal" nation.

Like Cavendish's secular convent plays, Rowlandson and Pocahontas's respective stories articulate "safe," enclosed spaces in opposition to the unstable, nomadic danger of the "wilderness." Rowlandson's rescue from "Indian captivity" and her return to the confines of a patriarchal home is the necessary condition for her access to a public audience. Pocahontas, on the other hand, achieves no equivalent access to authorial subjectivity. That lack, however, necessitates different reading strategies, strategies attentive to the history of European productions of native difference. As with Cary, religion—not "race"—is the primary axis for marking social differences between individuals in Rowlandson's narrative. When Rowlandson does refer to the "blackness" of her native captors, the reference primarily indicates their presumed sinfulness. On the axis of religious difference upon which her narrative turns, however, Christian Indians do not receive the same treatment as their European religious counterparts. Comparing Rowlandson and Pocahontas underscores the limitations both of denying "race" as an early modern classificatory schema and of simply translating backward modern understandings of race. Neither model can account for the hybrid category "Praying Indian."

Both Pocahontas and Rowlandson crossed the Atlantic; they form part of the "traffic" to and from the New World. Comparing the two women from opposite ends of

the seventeenth century allows us to see the demise of understandings of both an "aristocratic race" and the primacy of religious allegiance in strategies of othering. With the advance of conversion in the New World, these older modes of social differentiation give way to newer strategies of racialization that feminize Indian men for their "treachery" and cast the hybrid "Praying Indian" under suspicion. Despite the early claims that conversion was the goal of plantation, even if those claims only provided cover for more overt economic goals, when conversions begin the old categories of social organization crumble, requiring reconfigured understandings of "race" and "nation."

This dissertation, then, examines the intersections between early modern utopian and travel writing and explores the language this writing uses to construct always-hierarchical relations of mobility. I pay particular attention to the ways in which these discourses sexualize the bodies they describe—human bodies and bodies of land, foreign and domestic. I hope to sort out what signs/syntaxes and vocabularies each writer invokes in order to render her respective visions intelligible. Cavendish's writings have, for example, been deemed unintelligible by generation after generation of readers. Several critics claim her unwieldy writings must surely be the product of a madwoman. This might lead some feminist readers to hope that Cavendish avoided the same hierarchical process of racializing employed by her male contemporaries, whose apparent intelligibility relied on the strategic deployment of those tropes. That is, however, to hope for Cavendish to write outside her time, outside her culture, or, indeed, not to write at all. For to write is not only an act of self-centring, it is also necessarily an act of time- and

culture-centring. In every signifying system there exist unknowable things, things the acknowledgement of which would render the system untenable.

My project begins with the assumption that early modern English women's travel and utopian writings always negotiate gendered, racialized, and sexualized subject positions. This dissertation examines the ways in which Cavendish, Cary, Evans and Chevers, and Rowlandson respond to and incorporate the vocabularies of contact in their negotiations of mobility/travel and in their utopian desirings. I pay special attention to the ways in which those various writings contribute to the construction of a discourse of nationhood that legitimates as it creates white, Protestant, heterosexual subjects. As constitutive elements of social relations that denote hierarchical relations, race, sex, gender, and sexuality do not occur evenly, nor can they be accounted for simply in sweeping transhistorical formulations. Most importantly, perhaps, they cannot be reduced to analogues one for another.

Chapter 1: Blazing Imperialism: Margaret Cavendish's Travel Fantasies, Secular Convents, and the Metaphorics of Renaissance Plantations

Despite her pretence to a lack of learning and a disinterest in reading, the variety, quantity, and breadth of Margaret Cavendish's work demonstrates more than a passing familiarity with several genres: natural philosophy, political philosophy, Baconian science, utopian writing, and contemporary travel literatures.[12] In consequence, we can no more continue to read Cavendish in isolation from travel literature and fantasies, some of the more popular genres of her day, than to ignore the influence of Bacon, Hobbes, and Descartes on both her life and work.[13] In addition, Cavendish's own experience of exile and religious ostracism during the Interregnum, combined with the gendered limitations placed upon her intellectual development, inform her writings about seclusion in secular convents, voyages to other imaginary worlds, and plantations as a solution to political dissidence.

The first section of Margaret Cavendish's *Orations* (1662), "Orations to Citizens in a Chief City Concerning Peace and War," includes "An Oration to send out Colonies,"

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[12] Marina Leslie makes a similar point: "It is unhelpful at best and dangerous at worst … to let either her declarations of her singularity or her complaints about her lack of formal training blind us to her profound engagement with, and revision of, her intellectual and cultural milieu" (124).

[13] Several recent critics have begun the project of reading Cavendish alongside her better-known male contemporaries in scientific and utopian writing. See, for example, Sylvia Bowerbank's "The Spider's Delight" (*ELR* 1984), Amy Boesky's *Founding Fictions* (U of Georgia P, 1996), Marina Leslie's *Renaissance Utopias and the Problem of History* (Cornell UP, 1998), and Anna Battigelli's *Margaret Cavendish and the Exiles of the Mind* (UP of Kentucky, 1998).

in which she outlines the benefits of colonial plantation. Sandwiched between an essay on the prevention of civil war and another concerning "Shipping and Trade," Cavendish's argument for active colonial expansion insists on the domestic benefits of conquest, benefits that are understood to be both civil and economic. She begins this oration on planting colonies with a tirade against the lazy young men of England, and continues:

> Wherefore, if some of the Aged men, send not some of the Young, strong men to make Warrs abroad to imploy or inrich them, or to destroy them, they will make Warrs at home, and destroy themselves and others for want of wealth and imployment: for this nation is like a body over-grown, or rather full of Humours which requires Evacuation. Wherefore, send some to Sea, others to march by Land, to seek new Habitation and to Conquer Nations; …that they may become absolute Conquerors. (*Orations* 13-14)

The uneasy question of what to do with politically subversive young men with "levelling" tendencies, whom she deems merely bored and restless, both informed contemporary political debates and underwrites much of Cavendish's writing. Here, the impulse toward colonization—the settling of "Habitations"—figures both as a purgative for the distempered humoral social body and the means to prevent further civil unrest in a nation already torn apart by its recent civil wars. Moreover, colonial expansion serves as one mechanism to counter republican forces by sending them overseas to expend their disruptive energies there.

Cavendish uses many of the generically diverse pieces in her *Natures Pictures* (1656) to extol the virtues of colonization, especially as a deterrent to civil war and a guardian of civil peace. The fourth section of this collection, "Her Excellencies Moral

Tales in Prose," contains a narrative that compares "monarchial" bees with republican ants. The bees are commended for several reasons. Not only do they submit to one monarch, but they also have a strategy in place for dealing with any civil unrest that might result from overpopulation. As well, Cavendish credits the bees with a consciousness of the dangers of a political instability that stems from "surplus" populations. Accordingly, when the hive becomes overcrowded and food scarce, some of the bees leave to form a new colony and, in so doing, prevent the outbreak of civil unrest. In addition to their system of government—a monarchy, not a republic—the bees are praised for their colonial endeavours:

> But Bees are wiser; for they know, that if the Commonwealth be ruinated, no particular Person can be free. Also, Bees do like those that send out Colonies out of over populated Kingdomes to make new Plantations; for if there should be more Mouths than Meat, and more Men than Business, they would devour one another in Civil Wars, and pull down the Fabrick of the Commonwealth, by breaking the Laws and civil Customes thereof. (*NP* 164)

Several of Cavendish's contemporaries deployed this same anthropomorphism in defence of monarchy. Samuel Hartlib, for example, also saw bees' "monarchial" social structure as a metaphor for the correct ordering of human society.[14] Most of Cavendish's contemporaries who were interested in bees, however, were more interested in the respective sexes of the monarch and drones than she appears to have been. Cavendish

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[14] See for example, Samuel Purchas's *Theatre of politicall flying-insects* (1657) and Butler's *The Feminine Monarchy*.

differs from her contemporaries by mapping that defence of monarchy read at the microcosmic level onto a debate about the prevention of civil war.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, the Civil War figures prominently throughout Cavendish's work as both the inexplicable that needs explanation and the ever-present threat that must be guarded against in future. This recurrent attentiveness to civil and religious unrest is interwoven with her more frequently noted interests in contemporary scientific and political debates, and women's abject position in marriage and lack of formal education or political subjectivity. Read as a whole, Cavendish's immense body of writings can been seen as a lengthy process of rendering intelligible the, for her, unimaginable and unintelligible eruption of civil unrest. From the early representations of her husband's life and her own, Cavendish conjures images of safe cloisters and opposes them to violent dislocation. In her later writings, secular convents and female societies also provide opportunities for women's education and access to public voice, both fraught issues for Cavendish. What the passages cited at the beginning of this chapter suggest, however, is that later in her writing career, after she returns to England from exile on the continent, Cavendish expands her range of textual responses for containing the threat of violent upheaval, from cloistering to plantation, from containment to expansion.

Cavendish—Royalist, playwright, philosopher, poet, essayist, recluse, fame seeker, exile, and homebody—occupied a complicated, sometimes complicit relation to the colonial project. Her position is more akin to that of the Victorian, Imperial feminists than to women of her own time. As I discuss in subsequent chapters, Biblical metaphor offers the primary means of understanding contemporary politics, geography, and

"otherness" for most other seventeenth-century women writers. Cavendish, on the other hand, possessed a predominantly secular and increasingly "scientific" understanding of the world. As a result, she incorporates images of the New World and, as did several of her contemporaries, blends them with "Orientalist" images. Unlike Mary Cary, Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, and Mary Rowlandson, however, she does not suppress detailed descriptions of time and place in favour of Biblical narrative and descriptions. As well, despite her forced, although temporary, exile amongst compatriots, she never travelled very far from England. For their part, Evans, Chevers, Rowlandson, and Pocahontas undertook enormous, difficult, physical journeys, which are given comparatively little textual space in their writings. Cavendish is neither inclined to privilege Biblical narrative over contemporary reportage, nor does she have access to personal experience of the worlds from which she borrows and transmutes details to furnish her prose narratives and plays. Instead, she uses images of colonial trade and plantation that were familiar to her from contemporary travel narratives and reports from overseas plantations.

In addition to her negotiation of a burgeoning symbolic economy of trade and colonization, several of Cavendish's writings launch critiques against the limitations placed upon (aristocratic) women. Cavendish was not much concerned with the plight of women of other classes, and hers was certainly not a levelling program. Perhaps, her best known work, *The Blazing World,* creates a world in which a woman has access to political power. In addition, several of her plays criticize women's place in marriage. Here, Simon Gikandi's analysis of the "complicity/resistance" dialectic at work in nineteenth-century English women travellers maps neatly onto some of Cavendish's

writings (Gikandi). Like the Victorian women travellers of nearly two centuries later, Cavendish, consciously or not, mobilizes images bound up with New World subjection in order to formulate her criticism of gender hierarchies at home.

Although many of Cavendish's plays deal explicitly with the less-than-agreeable conditions of marriage for women, these plays examine single-sex communities and retreats not just as alternatives to marriage, but as potential spaces in which women can develop intellectual and political subjectivities. *The Female Academy* (1662) and *The Convent of Pleasure* (1668) participate in early modern representations of gendered access to mobility. Cavendish's secular convents allow women an imaginary sanctuary removed from the heterosexual pairings normalized by More and Bacon. However, their inhabitants' comfort depends upon exploitative colonial trade relations. Like Bacon's, Cavendish's utopian writings also construct political and intellectual subject positions denied their author. Further, these constructions are just as deeply implicated in colonial narratives.

In this chapter, I begin by situating Cavendish's various utopian projects within the less-than-receptive history of utopian criticism. Some of the complex reasons for her ambivalent position in the utopian canon stem from her mobilization of colonial metaphor. Her arguably feminist secular convent plays are, as several critics have argued, passed over for inclusion in catalogues of utopian writing by virtue of their focus on gender politics rather than high politics. These plays, in particular *The Female Academy* and *Convent of Pleasure*, are informed by Cavendish's historical and (auto)biographical context—her mother's widowhood recluse and her family's Catholic sympathies. I look to her autobiography, "A True Relation," partly in view of the light it sheds upon her

understanding of female cloisters and for the articulation of her relationship to the mid-century political upheaval. The chapter ends with detailed discussions of several of Cavendish's fictional writings as places where she works out the dialectic between real or imagined overseas travel and aristocratic women's secular cloisters, between movement outward and retreat to the domestic. Her return to England at the Restoration, a return to near financial ruin but also to the kind of seclusion she idealizes in her writing, is ideologically underwritten by metaphors of overseas trade and colonial expansion.

Cavendish and the Utopian canon

> I have been your willing guide and mentor on many a cosmic voyage, never protesting the distance, the time, or the discomfort of the vehicle. This time I refuse. If you wish to journey to the celestial worlds of Margaret of Newcastle, you must go alone with her in the pages of her ponderous tome. I have made those journeys once, and my head—not too good for heights in spite of my long training—still spins.
>
> Marjorie Hope Nicholson, *Voyages to the Moon*

Although Cavendish is now perhaps the best known female utopian writer of the early modern period, and there has been a recent flowering of interest in and appreciation of her copious texts, her place in literary, utopian, and philosophical canons remains precarious. Cavendish wrote an enormous quantity of fictional and non-fictional prose, poetry, letters and philosophical/scientific speculations, but her vast and varied body of writings has until quite recently languished in obscurity. Critics and commentators from

Samuel Pepys to Virginia Woolf and beyond have derided her writings.[15] Her contemporaries ridiculed Cavendish's literary and intellectual pursuits and/or found her presence, both textual and material, unbearable. These attitudes have prevailed: recent critics continue to rehearse her many detractors as they distance themselves both from the dismissiveness of earlier critics and from Cavendish and her Royalist absolutism.

Despite critical derision of her work, two of Cavendish's writings are listed in Lyman Tower Sargent's catalogue of utopian writings, *British and American Utopian Literature, 1516-1975,* (Sargent 1979). Sargent includes the final section of her *Worlds Olio* (1655), "The Inventory of Judgement's Commonwealth" and the appendix to her *Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy* (1666), *The Description of a New World*

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[15] In one instance of excruciating irony, Woolf concurs with Pepys's description of Cavendish's madness. In support of her thesis that any talented woman in the age of Shakespeare would surely have gone mad with frustration and written utter nonsense, Woolf writes:

> I turned to another great lady, the Duchess whom Lamb loved, hare-brained, fantastical Margaret of Newcastle.... Margaret too might have been a poet; in our day all that activity would have turned a wheel of some sort. As it was, what could bind, tame or civilise for human use that wild, generous, untutored intelligence? It poured itself out, higgledy-piggledy, in torrents of rhyme and prose, poetry and philosophy which stand congealed in quartos and folios that nobody ever reads. She should have had a microscope put in her hand. She should have been taught to look at the stars and reason scientifically. Her wits were turned with solitude and freedom no one checked her. No one taught her. The professors fawned on her. ... She shut herself up at Welbeck alone. (67-68)

Sylvia Bowerbank's analysis of Cavendish's construction of an epistemological alternative that included the rejection of microscopes suggests, implicitly, that Woolf entirely misreads the Duchess.

Called the Blazing World. The first selection in particular, "The Inventory," fits within an implicit definition that deems utopias those works concerned only with the putatively gender-neutral realm of high politics. To Sargent's brief list of Cavendish's utopian writings, I would add two sections from *Natures Pictures* (1656): "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" and "The She Anchoret"; several of her plays, including *The Female Academy* and *The Wits Cabal* from her 1662 folio, *Playes*; and *The Sociable Companions; Or, The Female Wits* and *The Convent of Pleasure* from her later volume, *Plays Never Before Printed* (1668).

Although Sargent acknowledges the difficulties inherent in fixing the limits of such a diffuse genre, he does offer a provisional definition for a literary utopia. "[T]here is," he maintains, "a general form for the term utopia as a literary genre. It refers to works which describes an imaginary society is some detail" (Sargent xvii). Although Sargent concedes that "completeness will vary," he limits utopias to "a type of prose fiction" (Sargent xvii). This dual focus, on an unstated definition of the social and on prose writings, results in Sargent's exclusion of several of Cavendish's short narratives that examine alternatives to marriage for women, and all of her plays, including her single-sex, secular-convent utopias. The only sections of her enormous *oeuvre* he deems properly utopian are those that deal explicitly with political and economic organization, as opposed to women's access to public speech or negotiation of domestic economy. Moreover, the societies outlined in *The Female Academy* and *The Covent of Pleasure* are illegible as critiques and alternative visions despite, or perhaps because of, their explicit projects of separation.

As recent feminist critics such as Lee Cullen Khanna and Linda Payne have noted, Cavendish's writings include numerous utopian moments, moments that address contemporary gender politics almost exclusively (Khanna, Payne). These utopian moments seem obvious candidates for consideration under the rubric of "a fairly detailed description of a social system that is nonexistent but located in time and space" (Sargent xvii). Further, gender seems an obvious and irreducible aspect of any social system—real or imaginary—or even the basis for a separate society. That observation, however, is the product of fairly recent feminist criticism. Along with Khanna, Payne, and Leslie, Kate Lilley speculates that it is precisely Cavendish's focus on gender inequality that renders her utopian plays invisible to compilers of utopian writing. [16] Lilley explains that, with the exception of Michèle Le Doeuff, "the explicit focus" of theorists of utopian writing "is politics, more or less untroubled by sexual politics, and women writers rarely feature, despite the fact that they are now prolific and experimental producers of utopian discourse" (Lilley 103).

The bias against utopias that explore gender relations, she maintains, stretches from the seventeenth century to the present. Frank and Fritzie Manuel, for example, exclude Cavendish from their compendium, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*

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[16] Leslie locates the discomfort with Cavendish on the part of various compilers of utopian narratives in Cavendish's apparent excessiveness, her persistent disregard for psychic, textual, and generic boundaries. "Cavendish's exclusion from the utopian canon," she explains, "is justified by the tacit assumption that she … violates the boundaries not only of sanity but also of social decorum, sexual preference, gender identity, and ultimately, therefore, legibility" (130).

(Manuel 1979).[17] The way Cavendish's utopias are constructed makes them illegible to the current construction of canonical "utopia." Reading four seventeenth-century women writers against both their male contemporaries and the history of utopian criticism, Lilley determines that while "[m]en's utopias have focused on political systems and laws[,] utopian writing by women has tended to focus strategically on the possibilities and problems of gendered social life and the weight of custom" (118). This claim, however, is more relevant to Cavendish's secular convent plays, *The Female Academy* and *The Convent of Pleasure*, and only partly accounts for the complicated and mutually informing gender and race politics of *The Blazing World* and "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity."

Cavendish's writings offer at least two differing responses to dominant utopian desiring: the first, picaresque travel fantasies with a female heroine, and the second, female cloisters. The former share structural similarities with More's *Utopia* and Bacon's *New Atlantis,* in which a representative of "England" stumbles upon an unknown and idyllic world. Cavendish changes the sex of the traveller and, by doing so, raises a different subset of political concerns. Her utopian travel fantasies, "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" (1655) and *The Blazing World* (1666), articulate a desire for female

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[17] Indeed, the Manuels dismiss Cavendish's writing as a "personal daydream" (Manuel 7). "The ideal condition," they explain, "should have some measure of generality, if not universality, or it becomes merely a narcissistic yearning. There are utopias so private that they border on schizophrenia. *The Description of a New World, called the Blazing World* (1666) by Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, has much in common with the delusions of Dr. Schreber analyzed by Sigmund Freud in a famous paper" (Manuel 7). Their despair when confronted with Cavendish resonates with Nicolson's cited at the beginning of this section.

intellectual community and government. In keeping with the model inherited from More and Bacon, some of her utopian visions mingle travel fantasy with the discovery of an ideal community. Also in keeping with More's and Bacon's utopias, these travel-fantasies-cum-utopian-visions rely on the logic of colonial expansion for their intelligibility.

Margaret Cavendish: Historical and (Auto)biographical Context

> But this unnatural War came like a Whirlwind, which fell'd down their Houses, where some in the Wars were crusht to death.
>
> Margaret Cavendish, "A True Relation"

Born Margaret Lucas, the youngest of eight children in a wealthy, close-knit and indulgent family, Cavendish began writing at an early age. As her detractors past and present have been quick to point out, while Cavendish's schooling might have been lifelong, it was far from conventional, neither the education befitting an aristocratic woman of the period, nor the kind of humanistic education reserved for men of the same class, one usually completed with a Grand Tour of Europe. In her autobiographical fragment, "A True Relation of My Birth, Breeding, and Life" (*Natures Pictures* 1656), she explains that tutors were kept more "for formalitie than benefit, for [her] Mother cared not so much for [her and her sisters'] dancing and fidling, singing and prating of severall languages" (*NP* 371).[18] Her brothers' education, as she notes, was "after different

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[18] Anna Battigelli cautions readers of Cavendish not fall too easily into the trap of taking Cavendish's representation of her education at face value: "We need to be watchful … that her rhetorical stance as an exile not distract us from the very real fact that she was familiar with the work of the leading thinkers of her day" (7). Marina Leslie makes a similar point when she cautions readers not to "let either [Cavendish's]

manner of wayes from those of women" (*NP* 371).[19] Despite her mother's failure to provide her with a "proper" humanistic education in language, Cavendish's intellectual activities do not seem to have been impeded. Nor does she appear to have resented her mother's educational oversight. Many of Cavendish's writings, however, explore—and lament—gender differences in education. *The Wits Cabal* (*Playes* 1662), for example, opens with Lady Ambition's wish to have been cloistered by her parents and educated in a "masculine" fashion (*Playes*, *WC* Part I, I.i). Although such cloistering would have effectively emasculated the kind of education deemed appropriate for Cavendish's male contemporaries, Ambition's express desire for both secular containment and education are themes that recur throughout both Cavendish's writings and her life.

Her childhood, for example, was itself extremely insular, verging on cloistered. Cavendish describes her brothers and sisters as preferring one another's company over

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declarations of her singularity or her complaints about her lack of formal training blind us to her profound engagement with, and revision of, her intellectual and cultural milieu" (124). Through careful reading of Cavendish's writings and correspondence, Battigelli finds that Cavendish not only read but also actively engaged with the theories of some of her most famous contemporaries, including Hobbes, Descartes, and Hooker.

[19] Although Cavendish insists that women should have access to the same education as their male contemporaries, that education does not include foreign travel. In numerous places throughout her writing, Cavendish parodies male travellers who return to England full of pretensions after a tour of the continent. She pillories their feigned and useless learning. In so doing, she buttresses her case for a solitary, cloistered life of the mind replete with imaginary travel. This attitude resonates with what Bowerbank sees as Cavendish's preference for speculation over the reigning epistemology of her day, observation (Bowerbank). Although she sees early modern women's education as lacking in many respects, Cavendish does not deem leisured travel to be a desirable or even useful pursuit.

socializing outside the immediate family: "my Sisters were so far from mingling themselves with any other Company, that they had no familiar conversation or intimate acquaintance with the Families to which each other were linkt to by Marriage" (*NP* 373). Cavendish repeatedly described herself as shy, and located the origins of her reticence in her family's closeness: "I was so bashfull when I was out of my Mothers, Brothers, and Sisters sight, whose presence used to give me confidence, thinking I could not do amiss whilst any one of them were by" (*NP* 373-4). Throughout her life, she compensated for her intense and debilitating shyness by producing an enormous quantity of writing.[20] Indeed, her secluded upbringing prepared her well for the contemplative life of a writer, and she spent the bulk of her adult years in this manner. That same upbringing, however, ill-prepared her for the disruptions and familial dislocations suffered by the Lucas and Cavendish families during the Civil War.

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[20] In another of the *Sociable Letters*, Cavendish describes the physical effects of this shyness in considerable detail:

> Bashfulness Works divers Effects upon the Body and in the Mind: As for the Mind, it Disturbs the Thoughts so much, as the Thoughts are all in a Confused Disorder, and not any one Thought move Regularly, neither will they Suffer the Worlds to pass out of the Mouth, or if they do, they are Uttered without Sense, nay, sometimes in no Language, being but Pieces or Words, or Pieces of the Letters of Words; and others, quite contrary, will speak so Much, and Fast, as none can Understand what they Say, or would Say, Indeed, so Fast, as they make neither Stop, not Distinction; … And for the Body, when the Mind is Bashful, it hath Divers, and Several Misbecoming Motions, as in some their neather Lip will so Quiver, as it will Draw quite Awry, like as in a Convulsion, and in some, their Eyes will so Squint, as they can see nothing Perfectly, and some will Shake their Heads so much, as if they had the Shaking Palsie; and in some their Legs will so Tremble, as they can hardly bear up the body from falling. (11Letter CXXXVII)

Ironically, the relative isolation of Cavendish's childhood rendered the civil unrest unimaginable to her and her family *and* provided some of the ideological conditions of possibility for the popular uprisings. Her family's isolation, which Cavendish so greatly cherished, was seen by some as crypto-Catholic cloistering. In particular, her mother's devotion to her deceased husband took the form of a religious vocation that resonated with convent life. Cavendish's mother lived a secular cloistering in her widowhood. In the "True Relation," Cavendish describes her mother's continued devotion to her husband, Sir Thomas Lucas, even after his death:

> My Mother … never forgot my Father so as to marry again; indeed he remain'd so lively in her memory, and her grief was so lasting, as she never mention'd his name, though she spoke often of him, but love and grief caused tears to flow, and tender sighs to rise, mourning in sad complaints; she made her house her Cloyster, inclosing her self, as it were therein, for she seldom went abroad, unless to Church, but these unhappy Warrs forc'd her out, by reason she and her children were loyall to the King; for which they plundered her, and my Brothers of their Goods, Plate, Jewells, Money, Corn, Cattle, and the like. (*NP* 375-76)

This devotion imitates what the Parliamentarians would have dubbed "crypto-Catholicism," or secret Catholicism. Although Cavendish was careful to insist that her mother's devotion was secular, it did mimic a religious vocation. Her "excessive" and prolonged mourning combined with her refusal to remarry resonated with contemporary Catholic rather than Protestant practice. In addition, the capitalization of "Father," for example, may be more than merely an idiosyncrasy of seventeenth-century printing.

Moreover, Sir Thomas's absent presence underwrites Cavendish's mother's days, suggesting a Christ-like "bridegroom" for whom she is perpetually in wait. As well, Cavendish's choice of the word "Cloyster" is highly suggestive, hinting as it does that her mother's widowed life emulated the life of a Catholic nun.[21]

Such religious performances were, however, precisely what some of Cromwell's followers among Puritan sects feared in Charles I and hoped to eradicate from England. Indeed, on August 22, 1642, a large crowd ransacked the Lucas family home as part of that attempted purge. This was the first of a series of attacks against wealthy landowners suspected of closet Catholicism and/or opposition to the Parliamentary forces. Cavendish's family occupied a complicated position in contemporary politics and religion.[22] Outwardly Anglican, the Lucas and Cavendish families may have numbered among the many aristocratic families who maintained connections with Catholicism,

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[21] Secular cloisters, or female-only spaces, recur throughout Cavendish's own writing in ways I discuss below.

[22] Although she shies away from any claim that Cavendish herself was Catholic, Amy Boesky claims that Cavendish came from a Catholic family (Boesky). In his biography of Cavendish, Douglas Grant lists the public offices held by her father, Sir Thomas Lucas, and concludes, "Sir Thomas's public position was insecure, and in 1584 he was superseded as Recorder by Sir Francis Walsingham and retired from public life. The only plausible reason for his suppression is recusancy. His Catholic sympathies are strongly suggested by his marriage alliance with the [Catholic] Fermor family and his membership in no other parliament other than Philip and Mary's" (Grant 29). We must be careful as well not to view Cavendish's complicated and contradictory representation of her relationship to Catholicism as evidence of religious "tolerance." Elsewhere, she rejects such tolerance as a possible source of dissent that, in turn, leads to civil unrest.

connections of varying degrees of formality, long after the 1559 Act of Uniformity.[23] Although we can reconstruct her brothers' active Royalism during the Civil War years, we can only speculate on the family's religious practices. My reading of Cavendish's "True Relation," however, suggests that she both mobilizes contemporary signs of Catholic devotion at the same time as she places them under erasure.

Although he admits "we have no direct evidence as to the nature of Sir John Lucas's religious beliefs," John Walter offers a highly nuanced discussion of the role of "anti-popery" in the 1642 attack on Cavendish's brother, John (Walter 167). In an examination of numerous archival documents in order to delineate both the "micro-politics" and the "high politics" of the 1642 attack on Cavendish's family home, Walter reads beyond both the prevalent histories that deem deep-seated class resentment the sole or primary cause of the riots, and against those who render the rioters a monolithic and politically unsophisticated mob. Instead, he stresses the selectiveness of the chosen targets. The riots were not the beginning of a series of random attacks on all local landholders, he insists, but, rather, deliberate assaults aimed at those among the landholders who were identified with Catholicism. For example, the crowds focused their attacks on clergy who had been appointed by gentry who, in turn, supported both the

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[23] The life of Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess Falkland, offers another example of the complex negotiations of religion necessitated by increasing hostility toward Catholicism. Amid considerable scandal, Cary was publicly revealed as a Catholic in 1626. Interestingly, her husband and contemporaries would likely have limited themselves to private condemnation of her faith if it had remained covert. For a full discussion of Cary's biography, see Margaret Ferguson and Barry Weller's introduction to their edition of her play, *The Tragedie of Mariam* (Cary). It seems to have been quite common for aristocratic families to have a public (male) face of Protestantism while maintaining a Catholic home.

Laudian Church and the Catholic gentry. Walter concludes that "anti-popery" was a significant force in both local and national politics and that the so-called "Stour Valley riots," which commenced with the 1642 attack on St. John's Abbey, were made possible by "the dominant discourse that confined attacks to those—proto-royalists and papists—that Parliamentary policy and Puritan preaching rendered legitimate targets" (Walter 282). Margaret Cavendish's brothers may well have been "proto-Royalists" *before*, but they became avowed Royalists *after* the attack on their home. What remains certain, in all this, is that the cloistered and protective family life that Lady Lucas had cultivated for her family was permanently destroyed by the Civil War, a destruction that her youngest daughter lamented publicly and often for the rest of her life.[24]

Civil War upheavals affected both the Lucas family as a whole and Margaret personally. Perhaps, as Anna Battigelli suggests, in response to the looting of St. John's Abbey, the young and reticent Margaret Lucas pleaded with her family to be allowed to join Queen Henrietta Maria's court at Oxford in 1643.[25] Such a connection, obviously, strengthens Cavendish's association with Catholicism. This affiliation with the Catholic

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[24] Cavendish belaboured the misfortunes that befell her family much to the chagrin of at least one contemporary. In a letter to Ralph Bohun, Mary Evelyn complains of "hearing her go on magnifying her own generous actions, stately building, noble fortune, her lord's prodigious losses in the war, his power, valour with, learning, and industry,—what did she not mention to his or her own advantage?" (Bowerbank 2000, 92). Apparently her contemporaries found the Duchess's company as irksome as she did theirs.

[25] Charles I's marriage agreement with the French, Catholic Henrietta Maria stipulated that she be allowed to maintain a chapel and caused something of a panic throughout England over the possible return of Catholicism to the Royal family. People feared that if Charles hadn't already secretly converted the marriage would force him to, rendering Catholicism the country's official religion.

queen, however, necessitated Cavendish's almost immediate departure from England, away from the comfort of her family. Shortly after becoming a Lady-in-waiting to the Queen, Cavendish accompanied the monarch and her court when they went into exile in Paris. Although Cavendish claims to "repent going from home to see the World abroad" and "did desire to return to my Mother again," social pressures and the fear of "disgrace" prevented her from doing so (*NP* 374). While Cavendish was in exile on the continent, her mother and two of her three brothers died. One brother, Thomas, was killed fighting for the king, while Charles Lucas was executed as a traitor in 1648 by order of the Parliamentary government. Lady Lucas's grave may also have been opened and defiled in the Siege of Colchester in 1648.[26]

While in Paris, the shy Margaret Lucas met and married William Cavendish, later Duke of Newcastle. William Cavendish had been one of the prominent leaders of the king's army. He met with spectacular failure, however, at Marston Moor, and was forced into exile with a tarnished reputation, even in the eyes of other Royalists. At least in part to defend him to his Royalist detractors, Margaret Cavendish penned a biography of her husband. Shortly thereafter, she also wrote her own autobiography, quite early in life.[27]

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[26] According to one Royalist source, the assailants "broake open the tombe of their [Lucas] Ancestors, amongst whome the Lady Lucas and Lady Killigrew, the mother and Sister of the present Lord Lucas, were so lately buried, that their sinues and haire were unconsum'd. These Slaves tore asunder the[i]r ioynts, and threw them about the vaulte with prophane scoffs at the resurrection, and spightfull reproaches of the decencie, which they call'd the luxurie of their lives" (cited in Walter 349).

[27] For a full discussion of the relationship between Cavendish's biography of her husband and her autobiography, see Sidone Smith's "'The Ragged Rout of Self': Margaret Cavendish's *True Relation* and the Heroics of Self-Disclosure." Smith compares Cavendish's stories of her husband and herself and

During their lengthy and increasingly impoverished exile, Cavendish, who had described her debilitating shyness in vivid detail, was forced to return to England to seek from the Parliamentary government compensation for lost properties to which wives of former landholders were entitled. In 1655, she returned to England with her brother-in-law Charles to plead her husband's suit. As the Cavendishes had married after they left England, she was judged ineligible for that reparation. After lamenting that under the new regime, "the Customes of England being changed as well as the Laws, where Women become Pleaders, Atturneys Petitioners and the like, running about with their severall Causes, complaining of their severall grievances … thus Trafficking with idle words," Cavendish enjoins other women to "rationally ponder … that it is neither words not place that can advance them" (*NP* 380). She immediately distinguishes her lone instance of very public speech in front of the parliamentary committee:

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situates them within the available religious and secular models from ancient and early modern life writing. She also compares Cavendish to contemporary female biographers such as Lucy Hutchinson, who allowed her own narrative to be absorbed into her husband's, or Anne Halkett, who did not publish (a fraught term in early modern culture) her life story and intended for her autobiography to be read only by immediate family (Smith 115). Smith locates a gendered paradox in the self-representation of the shy female author who "demands from the world recognition of her own independent achievements" (116). Cavendish implicitly rejected these models and attempted to model her life story on the biography she wrote of her husband. In an attempt to prove her proximity to the important events of her day, she incorporated the heroic adventures of male relatives. This has the perhaps unfortunate consequence of turning her "woman's autobiography into a biography of men" (Smith 119). Despite her best efforts to fit her autobiography within the confines of the genre, Cavendish could only produce a "hermaphroditic" hybrid. A similar failure of generic boundaries extends to the rest of her writing.

> I mean not noble, Vertuous, Discreet, and worth Persons, whom necessity did inforce to submit, comply and follow their own suites, but such as had nothing to lose, but made it their trade to solicite; but I dispairing being positively denied at Goldsmiths hall, … and being unpractised in publick Imployments, unlearned in their uncouth Ways, ignorant of the Humors, and Dispositions of those persons to whom I was to address my suit … being not a good flatterer, I did not trouble my self or petition my enemies; besides I am naturally Bashfull. (*NP* 380-81)

Not only was Cavendish forced by economic necessity into this unwanted public position, but she also failed to regain her property. However, she turned this failure into a badge of honour. That she was unsuccessful testifies to the difficulties early modern women had negotiating public voice and political/legal subjectivity as much as to the hostility of Cromwell's parliament to the Duke of Newcastle and his royalist ilk[28]; the parliament had banned Newcastle from England under threat of death.

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[28] A few decades earlier, Anne Clifford, another aristocratic woman, faced significant difficulties securing even her rightful inheritance. During her thirty-eight-year-long legal battle, both King James and various male relatives—including Clifford's first husband—attempted to persuade Clifford and her mother to cease their unseemly and unfeminine suit. Her mother did not live to see the end of their legal battle, but Clifford ultimately succeeded in 1643 and retired to her estate in 1649 to live the life of a beneficent country lady and patron. For a full discussion, see Barbara Lewalski's "Re-Writing Patriarchy and Patronage: Margaret Clifford, Anne Clifford, and Aemilia Lanyer" (*Yearbook of English Studies*, 1991 (21): 87-106) and Mary Ellen Lamb's "The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading" (*ELR*, 1992 (22:3): 347-68).

While in England, Cavendish arranged for the publication of *Natures Pictures,* to which the "True Relation" is appended. Although she failed at Goldsmiths Hall, Cavendish did manage that which most women of her age could not hope for and women of her rank would not deign to do: she put her writings into very public circulation. The "True Relation" interweaves the tranquillity of Cavendish's early years and her writing life with the ruptures and dislocations of the war years to produce a jarring contrast.

Cavendish's biography and political context inform her literary imaginings. The contrast between her peaceable early life and the ruptures she experienced during the Civil War years find expression in her fictional writings. The female retreats manifest in several of her plays idealize her own childhood and her interrupted hopes for life at Henrietta Maria's court. The violent and forced ruptures that precipitate travel in both imaginary voyages, *The Blazing World* and "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," blend her own forced exile with images borrowed from contemporary accounts of overseas travel and exploration. In both the female utopian plays and the New World romance/travel fantasies she interweaves a feminist critique of women's subservient and property-less position in marriage and, implicitly at least, laments early modern women's lack of political subjectivity.

One vein of recent feminist criticism reads much of Cavendish's work, especially her utopian writings, as implicit criticism of her society. Indeed, she wrote *The Blazing World* for the express purpose of constructing for herself a world over which she could be Empress, as the world in which she lived denied her this possibility:

> I am … as ambitious as ever any of my sex was, is or can be, which makes though I cannot be Henry the Fifth or Charles the Second, yet I endeavour

> to be Margaret the First, and although I have neither power, time nor occasion to conquer the world as Alexander and Caesar did, yet rather than not to be mistress of one, since fortune and the fates would give me none, I have made a world of my own. (*BW* 252-253)

In this prose narrative, Cavendish's Empress not only rules her own world, she stages philosophical and scientific debates over which she presides. Like Bacon, Cavendish also deploys the utopian construct to frame a position for a particular epistemological project. Here, however, the proponent of science is female and an advocate of speculation rather than observation. Moreover, burgeoning colonial expansion is one of the ideological conditions of possibility for both her convent plays, based as they are upon idealized seclusion, and her travel fantasies that permit the heroine political power. Cavendish's hope, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, that New World plantations would ease England's political turmoil subtends her utopian writing.

***Blazing World* and "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity"**

> In the Kingdom of Riches, after a long and sleepy peace, overgrown with plenty and ease[,] luxury broke out in to factious sores, and feverish ambition, into a plaguey rebellion; killing numbers with the sword of unjust war, which made many fly from that pestilent destruction into other countries, and those that stayed, sent their daughters and wives, from the fury of the inhumane multitude, choosing to venture their lives with the hazards of travels, rather than their honours and chastities, by staying at home, amongst rough and rude soldiers; but in ten years wars, the ignorant vulgar, in the schools of experience, being often whipped [with] misery, had learnt the lesson of obedience, … concocting the undigested multitudes to a pure good government.
>
> Margaret Cavendish, "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity"[29]

The New World is one condition of possibility for many utopian writings. Put another way, utopias are built on ideas of and hopes for "uncharted" lands, spaces where it is possible to imagine correcting the shortcomings an author sees in her or his own world. Utopian visions can thus be read as one measure of imperial desiring. Cavendish's "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" and *The Blazing World,* like Bacon's *New Atlantis,* are deeply implicated in contemporary discourses of colonial expansion. Worlds new to conquering forces—worlds deemed untouched and "pure," and cathected as virginal and timeless—offer a rich image repertoire for seventeenth-century utopian imaginings. As Keith Thomas notes, "[s]ome explorers of the New World were ready to believe that survivors of the golden age might yet be discovered in some tropical paradise" (21). Utopian hopes and exploration are mutually constitutive. The New World, I contend,

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[29] Kate Lilley, ed. *The Blazing World and Other Writings.* (Penguin: London, 1992): 48. Page references for *The Blazing World* and "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" are from this edition and will be placed in the text.

occupies no less a fantasmatic, imaginary space in seventeenth-century discourse than do utopic constructions.

Given that, as Lilley notes, women's utopian writings have been systematically excluded from the canonical category of utopias for failure to conform to received masculine criteria, the manner in which they negotiate dreams of empire takes on enormous significance. The seventeenth century occupies a moment immediately prior to extensive colonization; ideas of the new colonies thus possessed an enormous amount of cultural capital. While recent critics, such as Denise Albanese, have examined Bacon's invocation of colonial exploration in his utopia, *The New Atlantis* (Albanese), women's utopian writings of the same period have received less critical attention in terms of their reliance on colonial imagery. Perhaps the New World metaphor that rendered male-authored utopias legible as utopian visions was not equally available to women writers of the period. Certainly, women's writings of the period occupy a complicated, and sometimes complicit, relation to the colonial project.

Women writers' utopian visions were either unintelligible to both their contemporaries and future generations of readers *qua* utopian visions without the requisite invocation of the New World, or their writings have escaped post-colonial criticism due to a perhaps erroneous assumption that women did not mobilize the language and metaphors of "discovery." Cavendish, as female desiring subject (and author), may have altered the form and content of utopian visions to incorporate an explicit gender analysis. She reinscribed, however, relations of objectification and oppression for the construction of her utopias. Indeed, I maintain she relied upon those

relations. The metaphors of colonial plantation and exploration inform Cavendish's writing and enable gendered and racialized spaces from which to envision ideal worlds.

The Blazing World conjures up the New World in both title and content. In her prefatory epistle to the reader, Cavendish describes her fiction as "a description of a New World, not such as Lucian's, or the Frenchman's world in the moon, but one of my own creation" (*BW* 252).[30] As Bowerbank and Sherman both point out, Cavendish carefully constructs her own ignorance of and isolation from contemporary writings, a denial that makes difficult any attempt to determine whether even those works Cavendish names can be considered sources (Sherman). Despite the challenges in locating specific influences for her speculative writings, I suggest that Cavendish implicitly invokes the combined genres of travel writing and New World narratives in both *The Blazing World* and "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity."

As has been frequently noted, Cavendish populates her utopian commonwealth, *The Blazing World,* with people of many colours and forms. To do so, she borrows from popular contemporary compendia of travel narratives. The newly arrived heroine catalogues the various peoples of the Blazing World:

> [A]s for the ordinary sort of men..., they were of several complexions; not white, black, tawny, olive or ash-coloured; but some appeared of an azure, some of a deep purple, some of a grass-green, some of a scarlet, some of an orange-colour, etc. ... The rest of the inhabitants of that world, were men of several different sorts, shapes figures, dispositions, and

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[30] Lucian of Samosata, Greek satirist, and Cyrano de Bergerac (1620-1655) both wrote imaginary voyages to the moon.

> humours…; some were bear-men, some worm-men, some fish- or mear-men, otherwise called syrens; some bird-men, some fly-men, some ant-men, some geese-men, some spider men, some lice-men, some fox-men, some ape-men, some jackdaw-men, some magpie men, some parrot-men, some satyrs, some giants, and many more, which I cannot all remember; and of these several sorts of men, each followed such a profession as was most proper for the nature of their species. (Cavendish 1992, 133-134)

Some critics suggest that Cavendish's range of colour demonstrates her own racial tolerance (Khanna). Others consider the larger context of Cavendish's complicated racial politics (Kegl 1994, Leslie 1999, and Iyengar forthcoming). What I find interesting, here, is Cavendish's foreshadowing of "modern" criteria of racial designation: skin pigmentation. In these travel fantasies, skin colour is linked to social status. In the Kingdom of Sensuality in "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," it is the nobles who are orange skinned. Also, she uses what would seem today to be a hybrid term, "Imperial race," to refer to the indigenous aristocracy and the heroine forges easy connections with those of a similar rank to her own. This conflation of two hierarchical systems suggests their mutual interdependence.

The word "azure," and her use of it to describe the skin colour of some of her characters, may provide some insight to Cavendish's familiarity with other (travel/utopian) writings of the period.[31] In Martin Frobisher's narrative of his search for

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[31]At this point, the only way to discern the books to which Cavendish may have had access is to examine the catalogue for the sale of William Newcastle's library. On March 17, 1718/19 William Newcastle's library was auctioned by Nathaniel Noel. By this time, however, his library had been folded into those of

the Northwest Passage, compiled in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, Frobisher describes the natives of the Northeast coast of Canada:

> They wear their hair something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women wear their hair long, and knit up with two loops, showing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest folded upon a knot. Also some of the women raze their faces proportionally, as chin, cheeks, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth dark azurine. (192)

Frobisher may mean that the women paint only their wrists, but the description may also indicate that all the body parts listed are painted azurine. Such connections would help establish that Cavendish used the contemporary language of travel/exploration narratives in order to render her utopian fantasy intelligible.

Bacon also used the word "azure" in his scientific treatise/Natural History, *Sylva Sylvarum* (1625), to which he appended his utopian fragment, *The New Atlantis*. Cavendish mirrors this structure with her *Blazing World,* which is appended to her *Observations upon experimental philosophy* (London, 1666). In his opening discussion of "percolation," by which he means transmission of properties and characteristics, Bacon offers a corrective to Aristotle:

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his son Henry and of Henry's son-in-law and co-heir, John Hollis. The three men's books were auctioned together. Although the auction catalogue a copy of "Hakluyt's ... Voyages in a Vol. 1599," it remains impossible to know to which of the three men it belonged. But it seems likely that Cavendish knew this very popular work. I am indebted to Shirley Stacey for her generous help on this point.

> Aristotle giveth the Cause, vainely, why the Feathers of Birds are of more lively Colours, then the Haires of Beasts; for no Beast hath any fine Azure, or Carnation, or Green Haire. He saith, it is, because Birds are more in the Beams of the Sunn, then Beasts; But this is manifestly untrue; For Cattle are more in the Sun then Birds, that live commonly in the woods, or in some Covert, the true cause is, that the Excrementious Moisture of living Creatures, which maketh as well the Feathers in Birds, as the Haire in Beasts, passeth in Birds through a finer and more delicate Strainer, then it doth in Beasts. For the Feathers pass through Quills, And Hairs through the Skin. (2)

Cavendish's decision to give some of the inhabitants of her *Blazing World* precisely the skin colour Bacon and Aristotle deem impossible could be part of her concerted program of rejecting Bacon's epistemological framework. He, after all, was an advocate of scientific research by observation and she, notoriously, rejected microscopes as they "distorted" the image, or so she believed. Instead of an epistemology of experiment and observation, Cavendish favoured speculation.[32] Her inclusion of blue people, precisely the colour deemed impossible by her scorned predecessor, extends the philosophical debate between the two.

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[32] For a more detailed discussion of Cavendish's negotiation of the Baconian paradigm see Bowerbank (1984), and Eve Keller's "Producing Petty Gods: Margaret Cavendish's Critique of Experimental Science" (*ELH*, 1997): 447-471, and Mary B. Campbell's *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in early modern Europe*. (Cornell UP, 1999).

In addition to borrowing a specific vocabulary for representing new and imaginary worlds from the overlapping genres of travel writing, exploration, and the new science, Cavendish also shares more thoroughgoing thematic and structure similarities with contemporary modes for negotiating "Otherness," both spatial and human. Both Cavendish's "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" and *The Blazing World* are, at one level, picaresque travel fantasies concerned with detailing the idyllic lands and their peoples visited by a peripatetic heroine. Cavendish juxtaposes shipwrecked sea voyages, islands, and idealized governments with references to the New World in both narratives.

References to colonization are littered throughout *The Blazing World* and are made explicit at the outset in its prefatory poem, penned by Cavendish's husband, William, who praises the Duchess's construction of a world over which she exerts dominion:

> Our Elder World, with all their Skill and Arts
> Could but divide the World into three Parts:
> Columbus then for Navigation fam'd,
> Found a New World, America 'tis named:
> Now this New World was found, it was not made,
> Only discovered, lying in Time's shade.
> Then what are You, having no Chaos found
> To make a World, or any such least ground?
> But your creating Fancy, thought it fit
> To make your World of Nothing, but pure Wit.

Your blazing world, beyond the Stars mounts higher,

Enlightens all with a Celestial Fire. (*BW* 49)

Margaret and her newly built world, William claims, are superior to Columbus and his "found" world. Under this construction, America has merely been "lying in Time's shade" untouched, atavistic and awaiting Columbus's "discovery" for its illumination. In contrast, the Blazing World is no found "Chaos"; it is, rather, made of "pure Wit" and "[e]nlightens all with a Celestial Fire." The illuminating Blazing World and the shadowed, timeless America stand in opposition. The textual inscription of a darkened America illuminates Cavendish's *Blazing World.*

The narrative begins with the kidnap of an unnamed (white[33]) woman by men enchanted by her beauty. She is forcibly taken aboard their boat and abandoned at the North Pole, where, in a cruel parody of slave trading, her captors perish. Eventually, her boat arrives on the shores of the welcoming Blazing World, and the woman is swiftly taken to the Emperor for display at court. Instead of enduring any of the horrific indignities inflicted upon kidnapped inhabitants of the new colonies at European courts, this woman charms the Emperor and becomes his Empress almost immediately. The

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[33] Unlike the inhabitants of the Blazing World, whom she subsequently encounters, the skin colour of Cavendish's hero is never stated. However, her whiteness is assumed in this silence. Arguably, seventeenth-century constructions of race do not privilege skin colour to the same extent as do late twentieth-century understandings but, rather, hinge upon different, although no less arbitrary, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. Cavendish's heroine inserts herself into a class that appears to modern readers to be something of a hybrid category: "imperial race" (261).

Emperor remains curiously absent for the remainder of Cavendish's fantasy, a narrative construct that permits the Empress to exercise free reign over his subjects.

In Cavendish's earlier travel fantasy, "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," the heroine, Miseria, is not granted a similar imperial subjectivity, but instead must fight to escape inscription in oppressive patriarchal relations. As the title suggests, the story consists of a series of chases with Miseria on the run from her assailant, a foreign Prince. Throughout the pursuit, she makes various attempts to assert a subjectivity that the Prince is desperate to circumscribe. Like *The Blazing World*, "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" is a picaresque proto-novel and consists largely of a dizzying series of events in the life of a heroine. It too begins with a sea voyage blown off course. The opening of the story loosely parallels Cavendish's own exile from England during the Interregnum and her subsequent return to a relatively impoverished life after the Restoration. Miseria, we are told, had left the Kingdom of Riches (presumably modelled on England), where "after a long and sleepy peace, overgrown with plenty and ease[,] luxury broke out into factious sores, and feverish ambition, into a plaguey rebellion; killing numbers with the sword of unjust war, which made many fly from that pestilent destruction into other countries" (*APC* 48). Unlike Cavendish, however, Miseria's return to her home in the Kingdom of Riches is interrupted; her ship is "cast by a storm, from the place she steered to, upon the Kingdom of Sensuality" (*APC* 48). Her home is dubbed the land of wealth, and the foreign and feared land where she unintentionally lands is represented as a place of unbridled sensuality. Perhaps unwittingly, Cavendish affiliates her imaginary rendering

of a female traveller with the romaticized language of conquest.[34] The text is, thus, inscribed in narratives of Orientalism and elaborate and sexualized justifications for conquest.[35] Those same sexual politics reinforce—and require the policing of—normative, European femininity with a vengeance. Properly chaste English women, the text insists, must resist the lure of the sexually threatening colonies. Even though elsewhere in her writing Cavendish is critical of the restrictions placed on (aristocratic) women, in "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," women who stray from the constraints of "home" are severely punished.

Cavendish's epistle to the reader at the beginning of "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" specifies that the work is a cautionary tale for women who veer too far from the safety of the paternalistic (and English) home: "my endeavour," she claims, "was to show young women the danger of traveling without their parents, husbands or particular friends

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[34] For a detailed discussion of a similar dynamic at work in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, see Laura Brown's *Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Cornell UP, 1993): 23-63.

[35] According to Edward Said, Orientalism is a discourse that is

> by no means direct, ... [and] is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), [and] power moral (as with ideas about what 'we' do). (12)

Orientalism, then, is a discursive production of the Occident in both senses—Orientalism is a product of the Occident and, simultaneously, produces Occidental subjectivity.

to guard them" (*APC* 47). Upon arrival in the foreign land, the heroine, Miseria, is abandoned by "those she entrusted" (*APC* 48) and encounters a woman who can, conveniently, speak her language. Not only does this happy circumstance erase the linguistic and semiotic barriers of contact, but it also places Miseria, the European woman, in a web of colonial trade relations. "The old bawd," we are told, "having commerce with most nations, could speak many languages" (*APC* 49). Her trade, prostitution, inscribes the sexual nature of colonial commerce within the text. In one of the many spectacular, and paranoid, inversions of European contact, however, it is the English woman who is threatened by contact. The "old bawd" has designs to sell Miseria to one of her preferred customers, the Prince. The imaginary danger posed to European women's chastity stands in stark contrast to the real harm endured by indigenous populations. The threats to a particular construction of English women's chastity reputedly posed by sexually dangerous foreign lands are, however, precisely the sort of paranoias that drove colonial expansion. For her part, Miseria resists, and asserts a limited sexual sovereignty. In true romance fashion, however, she winds up married to the Prince.

Held hostage in the brothel until the Prince's arrival, Miseria, now called Affectionata, begins to suspect the older woman's intentions. The hapless but quick-witted young foreigner distinguishes herself first with her refusal to acquiesce to the Prince's suasions and later, when she is held captive by the Prince's aunt, by her manners, learning, and "beauty." After Miseria/Affectionata has violently, and successfully, resisted the Prince in the brothel, he takes her away and entrusts her to his aunt for safekeeping. After some time together, the two women develop a mutual respect

Finally, the aunt declares to her captive, "by your beauty and discourse you seem to be of greater birth, and better breeding, than usually ordinary young maids have" (*APC* 55). Magically, members of a foreign nobility recognize Miseria's social status and reinscribe her in aristocratic relations. This (re)inscription validates her sexual subjectivity and racial superiority. The Prince, as a result, now understands his target to be a greater challenge than he had previously assumed and changes the tenor, and content, of his suit; he sends "her a present of all kinds of rich Persian silks, and tissues, fine linen and laces, and all manner of toys which young ladies use to make them fine and gay" (*APC* 58). Cavendish's narrative thereby articulates a direct relation between aristocratic sexual exchange and colonial trade; the prince woos with "exotic" foreign goods.

As the Prince is already married, Miseria fears for her chastity and promptly returns his gifts. She begins to search for methods of escape—not, however, before falling in love with the bearer of "Persian silks." Settling upon the disguise of a page, she disposes of her feminine attire, cuts her hair, and embarks on several more sea voyages, this time as a boy named Travellia. On the first of her/his voyages, aboard a ship bound "for new discoveries towards the South" (*APC* 61), Travellia meets a man, who eventually adopts the young page and becomes "his" father. The two are shipwrecked almost immediately and find themselves on the shores of an unfamiliar country; they are then whisked through scene after scene of plenty on their way to the King. Various animals, "many birds of strange colours and shapes," houses "built with spices," fragrant flowers which "gave so strong a scent that those that were not used to them, did almost suffocate" and "fruits as big as one's head" dot their journey inland (*APC* 64, 65, 66). The "new" kingdom's weather is also ideal: "They never have rain there, nor in any part

of the kingdom, for the air is always serene and clear; nor no higher winds than what fans the heat" (*APC* 65). The two appear to have arrived in an Edenic paradise, or, more to the point, to have found a vestige of the Golden Age in this "New" World.[36] Upon arrival at the royal palace, surrounded by a wall of crystal and rising above the rest of the city (*APC* 66), Travellia and her/his father are escorted through a series of courtyards, each one more ornate than the last, until they reach the King's living quarters:

> From the rails went only a plain walk paved with gold, which went straight to the palace; this palace standing on a little mount, whereto went up a pair of stairs; the stairs went round about the house, ascending by degrees on steps, which steps were of amber, leading up to a large and wide door; the frontispiece thereof was Turkey stones curiously carved in so small works, as if it had been engraven; the palace walls were all pure porcelain, and very thick and strong, yet very clear; it was all roofed or covered with jet, and also paved with the same, so that the black jet was set forth by the white porcelain, and the white porcelain seemed whiter by the blackness of the jet ... . [T]here were brave gardens of all sorts of flowers, where in the midst was a rock of amethyst, and artificial nymphs cut out to the life of mother [of] pearl, and little brooks winding and streaming about of golden sands; the wonder was, that although there were many mines in that kingdom, yet it was very fertile. (*APC* 67-68)

This descriptive passage offers a series of criteria for distinguishing, elevating, and

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[36] The absence of rain also figures in Godwin's 1637 *Voyage to the Moon* and adds to my contention that Cavendish was well versed in both contemporary travel and utopian writings.

contrasting—in short, for making hierarchical designations. Discursive alignment with Orientalist tropes—golden walks, amber steps, engraved Turkish stones, porcelain walls, jet roofs, amethysts and mother of pearl nymphs—encodes a dangerous, and Occidental, fascination with the deliberately exoticized Other, a fascination that secures Occidental subject positions. Like the more explicit designation of the Kingdom of Sensuality where Miseria/ Travellia was held hostage in the brothel, this unnamed kingdom is also carefully constructed as "fertile" and sexualized.

Presumptions about New World cannibalism and hyper-reproductivity combine in one gruesome section of Miseria's journey. The narrator describes the practice of breeding of slaves for food in the Kingdom of Sensuality: "they were so fruitful: they never bear less than two at a birth[,] and many times three, and they seldom leave child-bearing, until they are threescore years old, for they usually live there until they are eight score" (69). Particularly in a story dedicated to the heroine's defence of her "chastity," the attribution of hyper-sexuality to the foreign peoples she encounters is one mechanism for distinguishing "them" from the textually inscribed ethical centre—the chaste, non-cannibalistic English woman. In addition to making the inhabitants of Sensuality more like animals, asserting their excessive fruitfulness is one of the text's many racializing strategies.

Although black and white pigmentations do not occupy the identical position in seventeenth-century racial designations that they have since come to hold, the narrator indicates the significance of skin colour: "all those of the royal blood were of a different colour from the rest of the people, they were of a perfect orange colour, their hair coal black, their teeth and nails as white as milk" (*APC* 68). Further, the insistence that the

whiteness of the palace's porcelain walls is more "white" in contrast with the jet roof resonates with contemporary racial markers. This troping on observable "differences" is carried further when, in order to prevent her and her "father's" sacrifice to the gods, Travellia awes the people by letting down her newly grown hair: "when the priest which came to fetch [Travellia] forth, [and] saw him thus dressed, never seeing hair before, for they had none but wool, and very short as Nigers have, was amazed at the sight" (*APC* 70- 71). As in *The Blazing World,* the insistence upon the innateness of hereditary social rank and the discursive elevation of the (English) aristocracy is another preoccupation of the text. The precise meaning of the narrator's comment that those "of the royal blood all their skins were wrought, like the Britons" *(APC* 69) is unclear, but like *Hic Mulier*'s collapse of Sythians, Moors, and the Irish into one category raises the spectre of the (racialized) other within. Furthermore, this relationship is inscribed upon the skin, and belongs to the observable world.

Bacon's *New Atlantis* also insists on the significance of "colour" as a marker of difference between nations, a marker with specific historical inflections. The Bensalemites occupy an epistemologically privileged position with respect to the rest of the world; they know much about other nations while those nations remain relatively ignorant of Bensalem. This narrative strategy is in part a necessary fictional pretence, but it bears scrutiny in terms of its maintenance of a position of relative Bensalemite superiority. Bensalemites are required to perform various types of service for the state. One of these services is to infiltrate and gain knowledge of other societies. In a reversal of colonial trade relations, the visiting Bensalemites are expected to return with significant quantities of intellectual capital such as "books, instruments, and patterns in

every kind" (Bacon, *NA* 230) rather than material wealth gained by conquest and colonization. In order to secure "knowledge of the affairs and state of [other] countries" without being discovered by the host country, moreover, Bensalemite travellers "colour themselves under the names of other nations" (Bacon, *NA* 230). Under this rubric, figurative colouring and naming are linked as practices and semiotic systems; both are mechanisms by which individuals make sense of their surroundings. Here, both names and "colours" are also nationally specific. Although skin colour and facial features are not the primary signifiers of racial difference in early seventeenth-century England, Bacon's utopian travel fantasy hints at the increasing significance of pigmentation. Bacon's fantasy, however, limits the Bensalemites' superiority to the peoples they visit, a superiority that is manifest in their ability to adapt to the signifying systems of their unsuspecting hosts rather than a fixed understanding of race in a modern sense.

Cavendish's "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," on the other hand, insists on some proto-racial understanding of similarities between Travellia/Miseria and the aristocracy in this foreign land. Once divested of her male disguise, she is legible as a member of what Cavendish elsewhere terms the "Imperial race." Here, however, the race-based affiliation is not founded in physiological differences, the differences of "hair, skin, and bone" (as nineteenth-century African-American writer W.E.B. du Bois put it), but on rank.[37] Shared

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[37] For a discussion of Pocahontas's doubly liminal status both as an Indian "princess" and a "Praying Indian," see Chapter 4. As a princess, she garners an invitation to James VI and I's court. But as an Indian convert to Christianity, the markers of her conversion—especially her silent chastity—require constant surveillance. As with Cavendish's writings, two uneven strategies of racialization are at work simultaneously.

class position might grant equivalent access to membership in the kingdom's aristocracy. Cavendish, however, distances her English heroine from even the aristocratic members of this other world's people with references to the cannibalism and the "tyrannical" government of Travellia's captors (*APC* 69). Although the two understandings of race—pigmentation and rank—operate simultaneously and in tension with one another, under the metaphorics of New World travel, rank-based groupings slowly give way to more "modern" strategies of racialization.

Despite the visions of Edenic plenty described during Travellia's voyage inland to the capital, Cavendish's unnamed kingdom is apparently no ideal commonwealth. Its dystopian aspects require the corrective powers of Travellia's version of colonization with the standard excuse of converting the natives. Travellia and her/his father overpower the people and show them what the newcomers deem the errors of the indigenous inhabitants' ways.[38] Far from becoming fully articulated subjects in their own right or by association with the Britons, the kingdom's inhabitants become Travellia's subjects. In order to prevent their own sacrifice to the people's gods, father and "son" contrive to trick the King and his priests into believing their hostages are messengers from the gods. This deception is accomplished in language and secured with violence: during a year-

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[38] Ultimately, Travellia aligns herself with Biblical patriarchs and forbids the worship of "false gods":

> With that the King and people bowed their faces to the ground, adoring him as a god, and would have built altars, and offered sacrifices unto him; but he forbade them, telling them they must build altars in their hearts of repenting, humbling, and amending thoughts, and offer sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving to the great and incomprehensible love, and not to altars built with hands unto men, nor to offer inhumane sacrifices to gods of their own making. (*APC* 75)

long imprisonment, Travellia learns the language of the land while her/his father constructs makeshift pistols with which to interrupt the ceremony for which their death is required. The shocks of both seeing a pistol fired for the first time and, subsequently, hearing their own language spoken by Travellia combine to overthrow the captors. The two near-sacrifices install themselves as gods with remarkable ease. This transition is rendered intelligible in part through the production of the land and people as Other.

Travellia and her/his father eventually tire of being exalted Royal advisors and decide to leave their hosts. Like Shakespeare's Caliban, the kingdom's original inhabitants are freed from tyrannical reign by default; the colonizing forces leave for reasons of their own. The two take considerable plunder with them. The narrator is at pains, however, to assure readers that, in a reversal of colonial trade relations, the goods are freely given to much-loved rulers. Travellia's parting speech is both an edict for the correct behaviour of a "good" colony and a vision of an ideal state. S/he commands the people as follows:

> And to you beloved people, the gods command piety in your devotion; obedience to your King; love to your neighbour; mercy to your enemies; constancy to your friends; liberty to your slaves; care and industry to your children; duty to your parents; and in doing this, plenty shall flow in amongst you; mirth shall dance about you; pleasures shall invite you; delight shall entertain you; peace shall keep you safe, till the gods calls [*sic*] you to partake of the glories of Heaven; and my prayer shall always be; that love may preserve you all. (*APC* 79)

Travellia's utopian hopes for her colony erase both the period of domination and the plenitude that s/he encountered upon arrival and, ironically, insist upon Christian love as the necessary prerequisite for ensuring the maintenance of that which was present before the arrival of the "missionaries." Furthermore, like Gonzalo's brief utopian lament in *The Tempest*, Travellia's speech takes place in an imaginary land deeply indebted to descriptions of the New World.

Cavendish's utopian texts construct subject positions denied to women in seventeenth-century England. To do so, however, she invokes colonial discourses in combination with images borrowed from European trade to the east.[39] *The Blazing World*'s land, people, and palace are described with a fascination comparable to that evident in "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity"; the vocabulary of racial difference Cavendish invokes is just as difficult to place historically and geographically. Cavendish borrows liberally both from accounts of the New World and from Orientalist images. By marshalling the combined strategies of Orientalist and colonial discourses, however, she renders Travellia/Miseria and the unnamed Empress of the *Blazing World* as imperial subjectivities.

But Cavendish does not easily celebrate difference. In her own lifetime, religious differences caused enormous civil unrest. Her *Blazing World* insists upon the importance of one language and one church. As they too lead to disagreement and dissent, the Empress ultimately abandons the scientific societies she establishes in her newfound world. This intolerance of dissent belies the apparent tolerance of "racial" difference.

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[39] The juxtaposition of New World geographies and Orientalist tropes may seem less surprising when one considers that Columbus was similarly confused; he thought he had found the *East* Indies.

Carrie Hintz reads Cavendish's "fear of dissent" into *The Blazing World.* "Differences of opinion are seen as inevitably resulting in political unrest," she explains. "[T]he protagonist of the Blazing World, valuing social stability above all, is forced to jettison some of the more productive aspects of discussion. She is even forced to curtail debates she has initiated herself" (Hintz 25). Cavendish's "fear of dissent" is at once more general and more specific than Hintz suggests. The fear spreads far beyond *The Blazing World*, seeping into all Cavendish's writing, and is frequently directed at Puritan sects specifically.

Cavendish's perhaps justifiable fear of political and religious dissent informs her representation of physical differences. In her discussion of Cavendish's intolerance for differences of scientific and religious opinion in *The Blazing World*, Hintz poses the all-important question: "How receptive is the text to physical difference?" (32). Her answer offers an important corrective to earlier feminist critics who lauded Cavendish's multihued Blazing World as evidence of racial tolerance. "Physical diversity," Hintz cautions, "can, in fact, serve as a mechanism to maintain desired social structures" (32). She goes on to argue that variation of physical features is directly linked to social function. "While not exactly a Platonic vision of a tripartite society based on innate ability," Hintz concludes, "there is a strong sense of biological determinism in the vocational fates of the various creatures: their bodies mould their destiny, without the possibility of social or cultural mobility" (32). Not only is the physiological diversity of Cavendish's imaginary world no simple cause for celebration, indeed that diversity actually restricts the inhabitants, but hopes that Cavendish's utopian visions evince anti-racist sentiment are also anachronistic. Such hopes rely upon a modern understanding of

race based upon primarily upon physiological differences. As Hintz demonstrates, an interrogation of Cavendish's race politics involves more than an analysis of her use of colour. Such an investigation, in fact, requires careful consideration of her mobilization a complex interplay between the mutually informing categories of religion, rank, nation, and heritage. In similar fashion, metaphors of colonial plantations provide both Cavendish's prose writings and her plays with a vocabulary for containing domestic political and religious dissent and underscore her complex negotiation of early modern understandings of race.

Playes

In her two volumes of plays, *Playes* (1662) and *Playes, Never Before Printed* (1668), Cavendish revisits questions of female autonomy and authority. In many of these plays, in particular *The Female Academy* (*Playes* 1662) and *The Convent of Pleasure* (*Plays, Never Before Printed* 1668), female autonomy is often figured as freedom from marriage and freedom to pursue a life of the mind. As a result, these plays have been described as feminist by several critics, who also tease out the homoerotics of Cavendish's single-sex retreat dramas. The desire, on the part of modern readers, to locate same-sex desire between female characters implicitly accepts the utopian dimension of the plays. Such readings insist that the plays construct imaginary worlds that offer implicit critiques of and solutions to various social and political problems. The invisibility of desiring relations between early modern women offers one possible site for interrogation. In her *Convent of Pleasure*, however (and despite the women's cross-dressing), Cavendish is at pains to exclude illicit desires. That erasure, however, highlights the erotic possibilities of

female academies, possibilities that fuelled the imaginations of early modern pornographers.[40] Margaret Cavendish's reworkings of the secular convent or female academy offer an attempt to divorce all female communities from contemporary pornographic associations and to insist on female intellectual community. The spectre of women as desiring subjects, irrespective of the object of desire, causes considerable anxiety for Cavendish, as such desires would undermine her careful delineation of spaces in which female characters exercise intellectual authority and resist inequitable marital relations.

The creation of a female intellectual community, even an imaginary one, and resistance to subjection within marriage are secured in part by the rejection of desire for the participants in these communities. As with *Blazing World* and "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity," however, foreign trade relations form the ideological conditions of possibility for the heroines' newfound intellectual and sexual freedoms. Like the prose narratives, the plays infuse foreign images with an erotic gaze. In short, the plays rely upon relations of contact and exploitation for their intelligibility. Moreover, as the plays are based in England rather than a half-imaginary other world, they also rely upon a servant class at home. Although Cavendish herself may have unwittingly invoked ongoing relations of coercion and subjection, the carefully cultivated and defended privileges of the few are based upon the subservience of the abject majority, both at home and overseas.

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[40] An entire sub-genre of schools for prostitution parodies women's learning. See Aretino's *Ragionamenti* (1534), and the anonymous *L'École des filles*, and *L'Académie des dames* (1676, English translation 1684).

The utopian worlds constructed in Cavendish's prose pieces are significantly different from those of her plays. *The Female Academy* and *The Convent of Pleasure* depict enclosed, self-sufficient, women-only spaces, while several others present a group of witty women who, though not physically separated from masculine company, give lengthy speeches in support of the single life. Only unmarried, acceptably "chaste" women in the plays are allowed sustained access to speech, and all women forfeit that limited privilege on marriage.[41] As with *The Blazing World,* early feminist readings deemed these plays, with their varying degrees of critique of marriage, as compensatory utopias for a woman frustrated by the limitations she faced (Smith, Mendelson, Hobby, Jones, Todd).[42] *The Female Academy*, for example, provides precisely the kind of intellectual exchange between educated women that Cavendish lacked, and *The Convent of Pleasure* allows the women an indulgent life secluded from the restrictions of marriage. The eponymous Convent of Pleasure, however, is decorated with Oriental tapestries and staffed by servants for whom subjection in marriage is merely replaced with submission to aristocratic women.

The plays' critique of marriage is limited both by the unacknowledged ideological conditions of possibility—colonial traffic—and by the resolution of each play.

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[41] As with several Shakespearean heroines, most notably Kate in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Cavendish's vocal, anti-marriage heroines all too frequently retreat into silence upon wedding.

[42] Several of these early critics were distressed both by Cavendish's class politics and by the capitulation to marriage in the final scenes of many of the plays that begin by criticizing marriage. For an early analysis of the role of class in Cavendish's gender critique, see Susan Wiseman's "Gender and Status in Dramatic Discourse."

Predictably, each of the plays that interrogate women's place in marriage ends with a wedding. In *The Convent of Pleasure*, Lady Happy falls in love with one of the convent's recent additions, a foreign Princess. In one provocative moment in *The Convent of Pleasure*, the Princess asks to become Lady Happy's suitor: "Why then, I observing your several Recreations," the Princess pleads with the convent's superior, "some of your Ladies do accoutre Themselves in Masculine Habits, and act Lovers-parts; I desire you will give me leave to be sometimes so accoutred and act the part of your loving Servant" (22). The Princess turns out to be a Prince in disguise and, with the revelation of his "true" sex, the play has a speedy heterosexual resolution that forecloses even the limited radical possibilities it proffered. The Prince secures Lady Happy's hand in marriage and in so doing condemns the convent predicated upon the women's vow of virginity.

The Female Academy, on the other hand, concludes with the Matron's assertion that as "these Ladies have not vowed Virginity, or are they incloystred; for an Academy is not a Cloyster, but a School, wherein we taught how to be good Wives when they are married" (679). Several critics also point to these failings of the plays that broach the topic of women's independence from or within marriage. Lynda Payne, for example, concludes that the Duchess's utopian plays ultimately capitulate to patriarchal authority. Citing *The Female Academy* in particular, Payne laments that "after a number of gestures in a feminist direction, the status quo is restored." She locates an "ultimate ambivalence" in Cavendish's utopian visions (Payne 27). Cavendish's utopian visions, I argue, are no more or less "ambivalent" that those of her male contemporaries. That ambivalence in Cavendish's utopias, however, arises out of visions that seek imaginary redress for a different set of social concerns than those addressed by More and Bacon, for example.

Cavendish's "Female Academy," in the play of the same name, is designed for the express purpose of intellectual exchange amongst women. Her "Convent of Pleasure," on the other hand, offers a fictional attempt to counter the hardships women endure in marriage with a "convent" dedicated purely to female pleasure. Lady Happy, the convent's architect, explains:

> Men are the only troublers of Women; for they only cross and oppose their sweet delights, and peaceable life; they cause their pains, but not their pleasures. Wherefore those Women that are poor, and have not means to buy delights, and maintain pleasures, are only fit for Men; for having not means to please themselves, they must serve only to please others; but those Women, where Fortune, Nature, and the gods are joined to make them happy, were mad to live with Men, who make the Female sex their slaves; but I will not be so enslaved, but will live retired from their Company. Wherefore, in order thereto, I will take so many Noble Persons of my own Sex, as my Estate will plentifully maintain, such whose Births are greater than their Fortunes, and are resolved to live a single life, and vow Virginity: with these I mean to live encloistered with all the delights and pleasures that are allowable and lawful; My Cloister shall not be a Cloister of restraint, but a place for freedom, not to vex the Senses but to please them. (*Plays* 7)

This vision of ease and indulgence is, however, subtended by distinctions of rank, and the convent excludes poor women, deeming them fit for the servitude of marriage. Cavendish was, after all, a dedicated monarchist and defender of aristocratic privilege.

Furthermore, Lady Happy tropes on slavery in order to justify her production of sexual subjectivity. Upper-class women who marry, she contends, are "mad" to enter into this "slavery" when they can, apparently, buy their way out. Lady Happy began promisingly; her opening speech seemed to advocate reversing the social order: "Let me tell you," she addresses her servant, "that Riches ought to be bestowed on such as are poor, and want means to maintain themselves; and Youth, on those that are old; Beauty on those that are ill-favoured; and Virtue, on those that are vicious" (2). This soon turns to a complaint about women's position in the marriage market; wealthy, young, beautiful, virtuous women, she maintains, are paired off to "poor, old, ill-favoured, and debauch'd" men to counterbalance their failings (2).

Cavendish's repetition of the word "cloister" in the passage above resonates with her mother's widowhood retreat. The voluntarily cloistered woman, often figured as the "She-Anchoret," is an object of lavish praise in Cavendish's work. In her analysis of the "idea of a Protestant nunnery," Bridget Hill (1987) argues that more than a century after English convents were dissolved under Henry VIII, early feminist writers began lamenting the loss of spaces for women's education provided by the convents. Mary Astell, for example, models her female academy on a convent but without the vows.[43]

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[43] Cloistering works in conjunction with the desire for education in many of Cavendish's plays. For example, at the beginning of *The Wits Cabal*, a frustrated Ambition describes "feminine" education as "negligent" and claims she would have preferred an educational cloister:

> I would my Parents had kept me up as birds in darkness, when they are taught to sing Artificial Tunes, that my ears only might have been imploy'd; and as those Teachers whistle to birds several tunes, so would I have had Tutors to have read to me several Authors, as the best Poets, the best Historians, the best Philosophers, Moral and Natural,

Lady Happy rejects a life of married "restraint" in favour of one of sensual indulgence, even only those indulgences "allowable and lawful." This restriction on permissible indulgences, however, renders the convent and its members subject to the very rule of law they had hoped to escape. Anticipating its ultimate submission to the authority that Lady Happy has inscribed from the outset, the convent's foundation relies upon a social order that requires female participation in reproduction.[44] The rush to assure the audience that nothing is amiss amongst the women serves to perpetuate what Valerie Traub sees as the invisibility of lesbian desire on the stage and in the wider early modern culture. Warning that we cannot look for "lesbian" desire in early modern discourses of sodomy as women are absent from those discourses, Traub turns her attention to various early modern plays and midwifery manuals to outline possible sites for female homoeroticism. Even though she finds possibilities for desiring relationships between early modern women, these are not, she cautions, necessarily socially subversive moments. Traub asks:

> the best Grammarians, Arithmaticians, Mathematicians, Logicians, and the like. Thus perchance I might have spoke as eloquently upon every subject, as Birds sing sweetly several tunes; but since my Education hath been so negligent, I wish I might do some noble Action, such as might raise a monumental Fame on the dead Ashes of my Fore-fathers, that my Name might live everlastingly. (*WC* Part I, Act I, Scene I)

[44] Erin Lang Bonin locates the convent's ideological collapse a bit later, after the arrival of the "Princess": "[T]he convent's fall begins well before its official dissolution. Although the 'Princess' tolerates the convent's cultural productions, s/he undermines their separatist perspective. For instance, the 'Princess' censures the incloistered women's renunciation of marriage" (Bonin 350).

> To what extent, then, can women's relationships with one another be perceived as 'resistant,' 'oppositional,' or 'transgressive'? To the extent that they existed coterminously with patriarchal prerogatives, not at all. They only *became* oppositional when perceived as a threat to the reproductive designs of heterosexual marriage. (79)

The convent of pleasure's tenure as actively oppositional to the reproductive imperative is a brief one. Ultimately, *The Convent of Pleasure* capitulates to precisely that imperative. The threat that Lady Happy and the others might escape that reproductive imperative mobilizes the men in the play. They infiltrate and overthrow the convent, returning the secluded women to circulation in the marriage market.

The Sociable Companions (*Plays, Never Before Printed* 1668), which deals chiefly with women's education and access to a public voice in marriage, links critiques of marriage with an expansionist vocabulary. The play dramatises the plight of Royalist soldiers, a plight that resonates with the very real threat of civil unrest still fresh in the memories of Royalists newly returned from exile. Onto the unemployed bodies of Royalist soldiers, Cavendish maps the same anxieties that were reserved for members of Puritan sects only two decades earlier. The shift from worry over religious dissent to worry over class insurrection as delineated in *The Sociable Companions* suggests that Cavendish understood both religion *and* economics as contributing factors in social unrest.

Moreover, in *The Sociable Companions*, the spectre of the New World registers as a double threat: it serves both as a release valve for marginal and potentially disruptive members of society and as a site of potential contamination. In the play's opening scene,

four former soldiers in the King's army—the Cavalier Colonel, Captain, Lieutenant, and Cornet—discuss their bleak future and consider their options. Now that the wars are over and the monarchy restored to power, they are no longer needed and have been retired without pension. As the Lieutenant points out, soldiers spend most of their careers idly passing the "time with the Wenches in the Suburbs, or the Baggages that follow the Army, with whom we get the Pox" (*SC* 2).[45] The possibilities for an honourable life seemingly denied to them, they discuss a number of ways of making a living, from entering trades with the sole purpose of "cozening" customers, to becoming highway robbers or pimping chaste virgins and married women. Finally, the Colonel seizes upon a plan to join a colony on Newfoundland.[46]

Colonel: I will tell you a better way for You, and the Lieutenant, and my Self to Live, than that: Let us get some of our Poor Whores that

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[45] Although the Lieutenant blames prostitutes and camp followers for spreading syphilis among the Cavaliers, the Colonel blames the Courtiers on whose behalf the soldiers have recently risked their lives: "Courtiers bring the Pox into an Army, and the Soldiers carry it out of an Army," he explains, "for there is no resemblance between a Courtier and a Soldier, but by that disease; for the Pox make Courtiers and Soldiers like unto like" (*SC* 3). The soldiers go on to complain that they, who supported the King, find great difficulty attaining preferment at the very court they helped restore.

[46] Here "New-found Land" does not appear to indicate modern Newfoundland specifically but, as the colony's name suggests, occupies a generic place in the imaginary geography of the period. It is new-found-land, erased of any and all specificity, including and especially the now extinct Beothuk. For more sustained negotiations of the tensions between the specificity of the island we now know as Newfoundland (and its indigenous inhabitants) and the deployment of the standard vocabularies of discovery, see *Juet's Journal* (Juet, 1959 (1st ed. 1609)) and Richard Whitbourne's *Discourse and Discovery of New-Foundland* (London, 1613).

followed the Army; and go into some New-found Land, to help to increase Plantation.

Captain: Content Colonel, but let me tell you, it will be but a rotten Plantation.

Colonel: Faith all Plantations are but rottenly begun; but the more rotten the Planters are, the better; for rottenness doth, like as dung, help to Manure the Land.

Lieutenant: Faith Colonel, I like your Proposition so well as I would be there.

(*SC* 6)

The four soldiers do not, in the end, flee to a plantation. Instead, they decide to follow the advice of Peg, the Captain's sister, and petition the government for a pension. Whether or not they carry out this plan, however, remains unclear; this subplot, as well as the soldiers' critique of their liminal social position, is subsumed by the comic thrust of Cavendish's play, which stages the irresolvable tensions between women's wit and the marriage market. Those tensions are ambiguously resolved by the play's ending, where multiple marriages suggest the impossibility of sustained access to public speech for women. As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, Cavendish supports her critique of marriage and women's education by association with references to the New World. In her later dramas, Cavendish expands her range of textual responses for limiting the threat of violent upheaval to include both cloistering to plantation. The safety of aristocratic women's cloisters are secured by colonial expansion, which would, Cavendish suggests, relieve England of the socially and politically disruptive forces that fed the Civil War.

Conclusion

Cavendish's voluminous writings encompass at least two modes of utopian writing: prose travel fantasies and single-sex retreat dramas. The former are structured as forced journeys outward that are finally recontained within a reconfigured domestic sphere. Both Travellia/Miseria and the Blazing World's Empress marry members of the local aristocracy of the fantastic realms in which each traveller lands. The dramas, on the other hand, combine interrogation of women's position in marriage and demands for female education by setting up secular cloisters as safe, enclosed spaces. As with all her writing, Cavendish's experience of exile during the Civil War years informs her representation of travel and containment, the dual impulses in her utopian writing. The ruptures of the Civil War threw the shy woman out of her preferred insular domesticity and forced her to travel. I think she longed for the sanctity of her cloistered pre-Civil War family life. That longing, however, informs her utopian writing and manifests itself in the intolerance of class, race, religious, and political difference or dissent that underwrites those visions.

Chapter 2: "This Nation so farre excels in glory, and happinesse all other Nations": Mary Cary and the Elect Nation

This chapter investigates the intersections between Mary Cary's millennial visions and the histories of utopian and travel writing as they relate to the idea of nation and by extension to women's understandings of mobility and space.

Cavendish amongst the Puritans

In mid-seventeenth century England, large numbers of people dissatisfied with the pace and tenor of Reformation in the Church of England formed or joined Independent Churches. Sometimes called Puritans, members of diverse sects felt the established Church, the Church of England, was too "Catholic" and defined themselves in opposition to the popery they associated with the Beast; they referred to themselves as the "godly" or the Saints. And, the term "Puritan" became one of derision very quickly. Although in very different forms than their early incarnations, some of these Dissenting sects survive today—Baptists and Quakers, for example. Other groups, such as the Muggletonians, Levellers, Diggers, and Fifth Monarchists, fizzled out with the failure of the English Revolution.

Aristocrats such as Margaret Cavendish and Puritan women such as the Fifth Monarchist Mary Cary share a historical moment and little else. They represent opposing sides of the English Civil War. One was, as we have seen, a Catholic-sympathising defender of rank and privilege, the other a self-described minister and a political and religious radical.[47] Although both members of the national church and members of the

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[47] On the title page *The Resurrection of the Witnesses* (1648), Cary refers to herself as a minister.

various Puritan sects urging greater reformation actively decried Catholicism, Puritans often held that conforming members of the national church remained too close to antichristian "popery." King Charles I's 1624 marriage to the Catholic Henrietta Maria, whose marriage contract stipulated the maintenance of a Catholic chapel at Court, brought the threat of a return to Catholicism too close for many. Moreover, Puritans saw the Romish ways of the ruling elite reflected both in mystificatory and arbitrary governing practices—especially the prerogative courts such as the Star Chamber—and in the continued persecution of the godly. In addition to frequent imprisonment of Puritans and active censorship of their publications, tithes and compulsory attendance in the national church were further proof not only of intolerance for diversity in observance but also of the national church's continued resemblance to Catholicism.[48] Members of Puritan sects also opposed the national church's desire that all clergy be trained at university, a desideratum that was to become a requirement in the following century. Preferring mechanisms that reviewed ministerial activities on an ongoing basis and the free provision of necessary services, such non-conformists also challenged life-long appointments with salary for clerics and their ability to collect fees from members of the congregation for services such as presiding over weddings and funerals.

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[48] In her argument for religious toleration, *The Justification of the Independent Churches of Christ* (1641), Katherine Chidley frames this debate in clear terms. Her tract asks, "Whether it be lawfull for such, who are informed of the evills of the Church of England, to separate from it. For my owne part," she continues, "considering that the Church of England is governed by the Canon Lawes (the Discipline of Antichrist) and altogether wanteth the Discipline of Christ; ... I hold it not only lawful, but also the duty of all those who are informed of such evills, to separate themselves from them and such as doe adhere unto them" ("To the Christian Reader," sig. ii r).

From a Royalist point of view, all Puritans, irrespective of differences between sects, were seen as hypocritical anarchists seeking to destroy property and, by extension, all order.[49] In her *Sociable Letters*, Cavendish takes up this theme as she turns her satire against female Puritans and offers her own quirky insights into Puritan women. In this series of letters to an imaginary female friend, Cavendish describes a visit, real or imagined, from another female friend, a "Spiritual Sister." Apparently a shared acquaintance of both Cavendish and the unknown/imaginary addressee, this godly woman has given up bodily adornment. Invoking the standard anti-Puritan vocabulary of the day, Cavendish describes this godly woman:

> she hath left Curling her Hair, Black Patches are become Abominable to her, Laced Shoes and Galoshoes are Steps to Pride, to go Bare-neck'd she accounts worse than Adultery; Fans, Ribbonds, Pendants, Neck-laces, and the like, are the Tempations of Satan, and the Signs of Damnation; and she is not onely Transform'd in her Dress, but her Garb and Speech, and all her Discourse, insomuch as you would not know her if you saw her, unless you were inform'd who she was; She Speaks of nothing but Heaven and Purification. (Letter LI)

This passage not only mocks the sartorial extremes of Puritanism but also speaks to Cavendish's preoccupation with female friendship. Indeed, Puritanism here is figured as a barrier to friendship.

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[49] Although Ben Jonson was not unambiguously a Royalist and certainly not a participant in the Civil Wars, his Zeal of the Land, Busy is perhaps the best known dramatisation of a hypocritical Puritan. *Bartholomew Fair* (London, 1614).

Cavendish's letters are at least as concerned with the status of friendship between women as they are with differing somatic signifying practices of Anglican and Puritan women. Ever the Royalist, Cavendish cannot resist a parting shot at the apparitional Puritan. As she relates it, the woman leaves with little hope of continuing friendship:

> she Lifted up her Eyes, and Departed from me, Believing I was one of the Wicked and Reprobate, not capable of Saving Grace, so as I believe she will not come near me again, lest her Purity should be Defiled in my Company, I believe the next news we shall hear of her, will be, that she is become a Preaching Sister; I know not what Oratory the Spirit will Inspire her wit, otherwise I believe she will make no Eloquent Sermons, but I think those of her Calling do defie Eloquence, for the more Nonsense they Deliver, the more they are Admired by the Godly Fraternity. (Letter LI)

The tone of Cavendish's letter is difficult to pinpoint. The equation of bare necks with adultery, and fancy shoes with deadly sin might be taken to suggest that Cavendish parodies Puritan women's rejection of feminine decoration. Other letters, however, do not support this interpretation, or at least not quite.

Although she tells her unnamed correspondent that she prefers "Silent Adoration" to "Extemporary Prayers," which she calls "Self-conceited Babling," Cavendish also claims that women on opposing sides of the war can continue to be friends. An earlier letter describes a Parliamentarian female friend and insists that "the disturbance in this Countrey hath made no breach of Friendship betwixt us, for thought there hath been a Civil War in the Kingdom, and a general War amongst the Men, yet there hath been none amongst the Women" (Letter XVI). Cavendish's stated views on female friendship

partially undermine this separation as she insists that she can maintain friendships with Puritan women. The problem, it would seem, is with Puritan women; they, not she, betray friendship between women. But Cavendish doesn't really hope for friendship either; her rejection of Puritan women's prophetic speech as nonsense lacking in eloquence is indicative of an unbreachable semiotic and philosophical/religious divide that no amount of pretended gender solidarity could overcome. Moreover, Cavendish's claim that the "general War amongst the Men" also speaks to particularly gendered—and Royalist—understandings both of who does and who *should* take part in war. In her eyes, it is a male activity, an understanding not shared by Parliamentary forces and their supporters. By taking roles larger than the appropriately feminine role of supporting the male participants, unwomanly Puritan women had already betrayed Cavendish's ethic of female "friendship."

In these letters, Cavendish collapses all Puritan women in all their diversity into one excessive, vagrant female body: the nomadic preaching sister. This sister's grotesque body exceeds domestic boundaries. She speaks. Despite her refusal of bodily adornment or excess (a kind of containment, and an attempt at Classical body)[50] she is threateningly uncontained; her speech leaks out of her. The Puritan woman also defies national boundaries, wandering about the country (and overseas) prophesying. She is mobile,

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[50] For a discussion of grotesque/feminine and Classical/masculine bodies in the Renaissance, see Peter Stallybrass's "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed" in *Rewriting the Renaissance* (Chicago UP, 1986): 123-142.

leaves behind her home and family to preach. Her failure to observe these boundaries renders her nonsensical to Cavendish.[51]

Ironically, Cavendish rails against some of her contemporaries in terms almost identical to those in which she has been criticised over the years. As we saw in the last chapter, Cavendish was considered the most undisciplined and unreadable of utopian writers. But with the possible exception of Eleanor Davies, another high ranking aristocrat, no one of the "preaching sisters" have received the kind of critical revaluation that has been lavished upon Cavendish in the past ten years.[52] Although Sargent includes several Puritan utopias in his catalogue, Mary Cary's are not among them. And Kate Lilley's cogent critique, discussed in the last chapter, that early modern female utopian writers have been excluded from the utopian canon because of their interest in gender

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[51] Cavendish is not, however, the only one to complain that Puritan prophetic writing lacks eloquence and is, as a result, unintelligible. A similar complaint can be found among more recent critics, particularly in their silent refusal to engage the outpouring of women's political, poetic, religious, and prophetic writings in this period. For example, Rogers' *The Matter of Revolution* (1996), which although it dedicates an entire chapter to Cavendish elides any other women writers of the period. His materialist study links contemporary political and scientific theories with the literature of the English Revolution. Puritan women's strategies of making sense of their world, however, cannot be neatly subsumed under this rubric. They were not primarily interested in burgeoning scientific practice, which dominates our time but did not dominate theirs. The dangers of reading backward through our own lens—here a scientific paradigm—can obscure other equally viable practices of navigating the world, practices that are merely less prevalent now.

[52] Recent years have seen four new edited selections of Cavendish's writings (Lilley 1992; Fitzmaurice 1997; Bowerbank and Mendelson 1999; Shaver 1999), one book length study (Battigelli 1998), at least two dissertations and dozens of scholarly articles. For ongoing bibliographies see the Margaret Cavendish Society homepage: http://www.clarehall.cam.ac.uk/mcs.

politics instead of, or rather, in addition to high politics, does not quite apply to Cary.[53] The critical reluctance to embrace Cary's utopian texts comes from a completely different place, not neatly summed up by gender bias, although that persistent bias certainly plays a part. Her final, proto-socialist levelling pamphlet, I maintain, has more to do with this reluctance.

Like Cavendish, Cary's writings evidence two utopian modes. Cavendish includes both women only retreats and picaresque travel fantasies whose heroines achieve political subjectivity and intellectual recognition among her writings. Neither of these seemingly contradictory impulses inward to cloister and contain or outward to colonise that define Cavendish's two utopian modes are at work in Cary's utopian writings.[54] For her part, Cary is largely a prophetic writer. Although she does offer some predictions, Cary's prophecies, like their Biblical precedents, offer a voice of a chosen messenger sent to illuminate Scripture. Her utopian texts are also part of this prophetic tradition. In *A Word in Season* (1647) and *Twelve Humble Proposals* (1653), Cary's two utopian manifestos, she uses Biblical examples to justify and expand her demands for religious toleration and social reform, respectively.[55] In addition to manifestory writing, Cary includes an

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[53] Lilley does, however, include Cary in her discussion of overlooked female utopians.

[54] In his study *A Rational Millennium*, however, James Holstun argues that Puritan utopias rely upon an exilic population, both the ideologically and materially, for their conditions of intelligibility. It remains, however, difficult to locate the precise debt in Cary's writings to the language and ideology of colonial expansion and conquest.

[55] Keith Thomas makes a distinction between millenarianism and utopianism, defining the latter as thought that envisages an ideal society created by human effort rather than Divine intervention (23). He does, however, include "ingenious people with an infinity of schemes of reform [that] might range from plans to

extended millennial utopia, *The New and More Exact Mappe of the New Jerusalems Glory* (1651), among her published tracts. Here, Cary enumerates the numerous privileges the Saints will enjoy during the thousand year earthly reign of Christ that she predicts will begin in 1701. Although full franchise in Cary's millennial utopia is predicated upon membership in a community of faith rather than a community of birth, her utopian desires are no more or less democratic than Cavendish's—indeed, no more or less democratic than any utopian vision.

Cary's prophetic visions do, however, invoke a completely different history than that of Cavendish's utopias. Where Cavendish invokes travel literature, contemporary developments in philosophy and science, and drama, Cary aligns herself in a tradition of Biblical hermeneutics and prophecy. Unsurprisingly then, her utopian visions are difficult to compare with Cavendish's *Blazing World* or *The Convent of Pleasure*. The difficulties of reading/situating mid-seventeenth century prophetic texts are, however, part of the reason for examining them here. The way they negotiate nascent nationalism is completely other and located in a different place. They do not fit neatly into a paradigm of women of empire as Cavendish does. They also resist incorporation into a tidy counter-canon of women's literary efforts.[56]

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erect workhouses or introduce new crops to more ambitious programmes for a universal language, the reunion of the Christian churches and perpetual peace" (30-31) in his catalogue of eight types of utopian impulse current in seventeenth-century England. And this is where I would place Cary's two short tracts, *A Word in Season* and *Twelve Humble Proposals*.

[56] In her discussion of the mechanisms by which much writing by seventeenth-century English women has been excluded from the literary canon, Margaret Ezell cautions,

Moreover, Cary's writings approach the ideas of race and nation obliquely as compared to Cavendish. This chapter will begin to examine that peculiar angle and to attempt to situate Cary's tracts within a history defining the English nation. At no point does Cary racialise or sexualise the bodies she describes as Cavendish does. Indeed, apart from echoing passages from Isaiah which promise the end of bodily suffering, she shows little interest in material bodies and they remain somewhat spectral in her writing. She does, however, concern herself a great deal with England as the New Israel. As she derives her method of reading from Biblical texts, she looks there also for definitional boundaries for a community. And, following the King James translators, Cary uses the word "nation" where others might use "kingdom," "people," or even "Israelites." As Liah

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> The most important feature of any attempt to anthologise or canonise writings of women in the Renaissance and seventeenth century, however, is that in the pursuit of continuity, we do not diminish or dismiss that which is disparate or diverse. The threads of continuity which literary historians have used so convincingly to bind together women writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries inadvertently may be strangling those women who lived and wrote in centuries when the technology and the ethos of authorship were significantly different than in later times. (Ezell)

In addition, early modern English women's writings are more likely to be devotional or religious than those of later women writers' works are. Part of the retroactive "strangling" Ezell descries lies in a reluctance to seriously engage these writings. Cavendish's texts, in all their manifold complexity, appeal more closely to modern feminist readers. To continue, however, to resist reading Cavendish alongside her Puritan contemporaries, and separating religious from secular genres denies temporal coevalness to women whose writings occupied the same historical moment. This continued separation, perpetuated by readers of both Royalists and Puritans, consigns the latter to the realm of failed lines of thought and, more insidiously, makes particularly millennial writers seem like throwbacks even in their own time.

Greenfeld argues, although there was no precise word for "nation" in either Hebrew of Greek bibles, all the English translations use it (Greenfeld).[57] The Authorized Version (1611) uses it 454 times. It almost goes without saying that there is something going on between the vernacular bible and idea of a nation. Cary's use of "nation" or "nations" in *Little Horns/New Jerusalems Glory* accounts for nearly one quarter of all the instances of its use in the entire Brown Women Writers Project's Renaissance Women On-line (RWO).[58] Moreover, Cary uses "nation" interchangeably to mean the Israelites and to refer to England. In her millennial utopia, the two nations, separated in time and space, become blurred.

In order to support this ideological blurring, Cary, like many of her contemporaries who believed England was the new Israel, needed to articulate a relationship between the English and contemporary Jews. Cary's strategies for incorporation and annexation are complex. She participates in the current debates about the relation of Jews to Christianity. Unlike Margaret Fell Fox, Cary does not call for the

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[57] "In England, emergent nationalism facilitated by the break from Rome was rapidly succeeded by its own revolutionary self-assessment. … [I]n England national consciousness was from its beginning deeply implicated in literacy and authorship. As Liah Greenfield [sic] has argued, the most important source of nationalism in early modern England was the Bible, that sacred book discovered in the ark by Bacon's Bensalemites. The Reformation stimulated literacy, and emphasis on the interpretation of the 'word' nurtured 'a novel sense of human—individual—dignity'" (Boesky 4).

[58] Although this is just a subset of roughly one hundred and twenty examples of early women's writing and covers sixteenth to eighteenth centuries unevenly, the relatively large number of uses by Cary gives some indication of her investment in the concept. I would like to thank Carole Mah of Brown's Women Writers Project for her help with on-line searches.

readmission of Jews but insists upon the religious proximity between Jews and Puritans.[59] This is further complicated by the prerequisite of Jewish and Gentile conversion, a prerequisite all advocates of chiliasm recognised, in order to achieve the one thousand year earthly reign of Christ.

For her part, Cary does not seem to be interested in practising Jews except to the extent that they represent an "accurate" relationship to the Old Testament, in opposition to her understanding of Catholicism. She does, however, dedicate a lengthy section of *New Jerusalems Glory* to a discussion of the Jews' conversion. Unlike many of her contemporaries, who expressed similar interest in Jewish conversion, however, Cary neither addresses Jews nor pleads with Parliament to consider readmission. Instead, she limits herself to a discussion of the timing of such a conversion. Ultimately, she decides that in order to be truly miraculous, the conversion will take place on one day. Hers is neither the virulent anti-Semitism of William Prynne nor the philo-Semitisim of English writers on the Continent such as Baptist Joanna Cartwright, who lived in religiously tolerant Amsterdam. Cary shares the ambivalent in-between position with Quaker Margaret Fell.[60]

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[59] For a detailed discussion of English Christian-Jewish relations in the seventeenth century, see David Katz's *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655*. (Clarendon P, 1982).

[60] Like Cary, Fell's knowledge of Jews stems from her own extensive knowledge of the Old Testament rather than personal acquaintance. Although Fell addresses Menasseh Ben Israel in one of her seven publications to urge Jewish conversion, there is no indication that the two ever met. Fell was one of the most active writers on the topic of Jewish conversion. Between 1656 and 1668 she published *For Menasseh ben Israel. The Call of the Jews out of Babylon* (London: Giles Calvert, 1656), *A Loving Salutation to the Seed of Abraham* (London 1656), *The Second Call to the Seed of Israel* (London, 1657), *A Call to the*

In 1655, after a 365-year expulsion, Jews were readmitted to England by a rather informal reversal of the Royal expulsion. This reversal did not, however, result in an influx of practising Jews into England, as, accordingly, the expulsion did not completely eradicate Jews from England. Although most did leave, some remained, went underground and/or ceased to practice.[61] According to Cary, the English are the new Israelites and Jews are closer to Old Testament Law, and paradoxically therefore closer to true Christianity than Catholics, but Jews must both be readmitted to England and will, at some not-too-distant future point, have converted to Christianity. In order to navigate this maze, Cary retreats into complex rhetorical manoeuvres and mobilises a grammatical tense known as the "future anterior," the tense of utopian desiring.

Mary Cary and Apocalyptic Utopian Writing of the Interregnum

Little is known about Mary Cary's life, and her published writings do not offer much insight. Unlike fellow Fifth Monarchist Anna Trapnel, Cary never includes any explicitly autobiographical material in her published writings.[62] Cary began printing her prophecies

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Universal Seed of God (London, 1664), *A Call unto the Seed of Israel* (London, 1668), *The Daughter of Sion Awakened* (London, 1677), and *A Call unto the Seed of Israel* (London: Robert Wilson, 1668).

[61] Lucien Wolf, "Jews in Elizabethan England." *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England.* 11 (1924-27): 1-91. Theodore K. Rabb, "The Stirrings of the 1590s and the Return of the Jews to England." *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England.* 26 (1979): 26-33.

[62] Although some autobiographical information was frequently included in conversion narratives, such as Agnes Beaumont's *Narrative* of her persecutions (1674), it was rare in prophetic writing. Cary specialised in prophetic tracts and never published a conversion narrative. Trapnel's inclusion of autobiographical

in the tumultuous years immediately prior to the execution of Charles I and continued into the early days of the Commonwealth. The introduction to her pamphlet *Little Horns* (1651) tells us that her name changed from Cary to Rande sometime between the publication of her earlier works and the present tract, suggesting that she married in the intervening years. She continued, however, to publish under the name Cary for the sake of clarity. On the title page of *The Resurrection of the Witnesses* (1648), Cary refers to herself as a minister. Like many women in seventeenth-century Puritan sects, large numbers of Fifth Monarchist women took up the work of preaching and prophesying during the Civil War years (1642-1660).

Despite the overriding utopian impulse in her work, Cary's place in the utopian canon is even more tenuous than Cavendish's. This tenuous position can be accounted for in part by the fact that Cary's tracts cannot be classified as either imaginative or speculative literature. But not all canonical utopias are prose fictions. Lyman Tower Sargent includes, for example, Gerrard Winstanley's *Law of Freedom in a Platform* (1652) in his 1979 chronology of utopian literature. Winstanely's classic Digger treatise is, however, the one representative of Civil War political tracts included in Sargent's catalogue. It seems more likely that, despite Kate Lilley's important intervention into the continued banishment of early modern women writers from the utopian canon, Cary's exclusion is more closely related to the genres in which she worked—Biblical prophecy and political tract—and to her membership in an amorphous group of religious and

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information in her *Report and Plea* (1651) is the exception, not the rule, in prophetic writing of the period. The information she provides, however, is both integral to the defence of her preaching the tract offers and a wonderful source for modern feminist scholars.

political radicals whose project did not survive beyond the middle decades of the seventeenth century. As discussed in the previous chapter, Lilley maintains that seventeenth-century women utopians' focus on gender politics rather than "high politics" contributes to their ongoing exclusion from the utopian canon; she includes Cary in her four examples to illustrate this point. This argument leads Lilley into several convoluted readings of Cary's *New Jerusalems Glory*. Echoing a commonplace for early modern Christians who endorsed "wifely submission," Lilley explains that "[r]edemption means, for Cary, that the feminine or wifely position with respect to a masculine Godhead will become universally acknowledged and available to both male and female saints" (111). Moreover, Lilley suggests that Cary shows her male contemporaries the way to such feminine submission to God. "It is ironically *as a woman*, privileged by her access to the feminine," Lilley argues, "that Cary offers to extend the benefits of her own position to men, so that they too may become brides of Christ" (111 emphasis in original). In an attempt to recuperate Cary for a modern feminist agenda, Lilley reverses the terms of early modern gender domination and deems a privilege one mechanism by which seventeenth-century women were subordinated to men and subjects to monarchs.[63] My criticisms should not be taken to mean that the treatment of Cary and her writing are free

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[63] For the classic contemporary deployment of the metaphor of fatherly authority of men over women, rulers over subjects, and God over monarchs on down, see Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* (1680). While these parallel relationships do implicitly render subjects feminine in relation to rulers and monarchs feminine in relation to God there is no indication the women's universal feminine submission to men offers them privileged access to appropriate submission to God or that men should consult women for instructions on how to achieve such wifely submission.

from gender bias, but rather that that bias is more difficult to locate in her writing and cannot be accounted for by simply rendering a pervasive early modern injunction to gendered submission into a site of privilege.

The negotiation of early modern authorship as a woman would be a more fruitful place to explore Cary's engagement with the gender politics of her day. Cavendish, for example, offers numerous prefaces to each of her works, insisting that she, not her husband, is the author, and justifying her boldness. In her case, these protestations are about both her class position and her sex. The sheer number and layering of prefatorial materials, however, bespeak a widespread cultural anxiety about female authorship, a topic about which Cary is curiously silent. Although as a contemporary female writer Cary may well have been subject to the same restrictions on and suspicions about literate and vocal women as Cavendish, her tracts are curiously devoid of the typical and typically gendered humility topoi and careful explanations for daring to venture into unfeminine realm of print. In addition, Cary's utopian visions offer no distinctly feminine perspective on the New Jerusalem. All the privileges she suggests female Saints will enjoy have Biblical precedent. Further, her rendering of gender relations, including allusions to wifely submission, is completely orthodox. Her exclusion from the canon of utopian writers, I maintain, has more to do with her millennial and proto-socialist beliefs than either her sex or her negotiation of contemporary gender politics, regardless of how appealing such a reading is to modern feminist critics.

Even Keith Thomas, no knee-jerk detractor of the political programs of the Saints, rejects millennarianism as a utopian project. But he has clear reasons for doing so. According to Thomas, the seventeenth-century utopian impulse is defined by a belief in

the efficacy of human actions to reform the world, rather than hope for Divine intervention (23). Indeed, he is deeply interested in this historical moment's paradigm shift *to* a belief that reform of the post-lapsarian world is possible at all. Nowhere does Thomas suggest that Puritans sat waiting idly. However, his separation of projects that privilege human actions from those that rely upon divine assistance might imply that Puritan utopians were relegated to passively predicting and awaiting the Messiah's return. Such a suggestion undervalues the activity of interpretative and ministerial work. Indeed, those who believed in God's ultimate intervention in the world actively scoured Scripture for signs of His plan for the world and went about doing everything possible to establish the necessary preconditions for Christ's return—such as the conversion of the Jews. Millennial utopias are, of course, structured by a different epistemological frame than those projects that relied solely on human action. That should not disqualify the former, however, from consideration as examples of utopian projects. Not only are millennial visions utopias, they are also active political engagements with current affairs.

As part of her contribution to that work, Cary published four tracts.[64] Her first, *A Word in Season* (1647), offers a "cordial" for England in the throes of Civil War. Her opening salvo into the tense politics of mid-seventeenth century England is to demand

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[64] Wing lists four entries for Cary: *A Word in Season* (1647), two editions of *The Resurrection of the Witnesses* (1648 and 1653), and *The Little Horns Doom* (1651). The second edition of *The Resurrection of the Witnesses* includes an entirely new appendix sometimes treated as a separate publication: *Twelve Humble Proposals To the Supreme Governours of the three Nations* (1653). In addition, Cary's 1651 publication, *Little Horns*, is a double volume including *The New and More Exact Mappe of the New Jerusalems Glory*.

religious toleration for the Saints. Implicitly addressing England's political turmoil, she offers toleration as "the readiest way, and shortest cut to a happie and flourishing estate" (A2v, unpaginated). In this sense, *A Word* is both a political treatise and the beginning of a larger utopian project. In this early tract, Cary's project is limited to a desire for the return of peace and political stability to England after years of violent turmoil. That goal, she suggests, can be achieved by universal religious tolerance. Her later writings, however, belie this humanist impulse. As Cary develops her utopian programme, she becomes less and less inclusive.

The year after *A Word*, Cary published *The Resurrection of the Witnesses* (1648), an extended exegesis/sermon on Chapter 11 of *Revelation*. Fifth Monarchists interpreted current events through the prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Daniel*, and *Revelation*. Like hundreds of other sermons written during the 1640s and 1650s, Cary's *Resurrection* emphasises *Revelation*'s particular relevance to the English Saints. Reading Biblical events onto current political affairs, Cary collapses past and present, offering a reminder that modern understandings of linear, progressive time do not apply to the seventeenth century. Her writings demonstrate that not only was Biblical narrative read into current events but also that seventeenth-century Christians understood daily events in relation to Biblical stories.

While not explicitly utopian, *Resurrection* participates in the same millennial project as chiliastic utopias by virtue of its interest in *Revelation*. Cary was not alone in this interest. Indeed, mid-seventeenth-century England saw a resurgence of interest in apocalyptic narrative, especially in *Revelation*. As Bernard McGinn suggests:

> Nowhere was Revelation more avidly studied and more vociferously debated than in Reformation England. The reasons for this are complex,

> but part of the explanation lies in the close linkage established between the English national identity and the cause of the Reformation, and the growth of the radical Puritan strain that eventually led to a revival of millenarianism. The Anglican mainstream, like the Continental Reformers, justified their break with the pope by equating Rome and Babylon; but those groups that came to question the Elizabethan settlement turned the tables on the moderates by viewing the established episcopal Church as Laodicea the lukewarm (Rev. 3:16) or even as Babylon on native shores. (McGinn 535)

Christopher Hill makes a similar point as he charts the different uses of the epithet "Antichrist" in England over the course of the seventeenth century.[65] Early in the century the term was used solely to indicate Roman Catholicism in general and the pope in particular. Into the Civil War years, the growing number of Puritans began to find too much anti-Christian Catholicism lingering both in the national church, with its

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[65] Christopher Hill offers this useful summary: "By the time we reach the period of Laud's ascendancy there were four distinguishable attitudes among protestant Englishmen towards the Antichrist myth. First and foremost was the almost official doctrine of the Church of England, that the Pope was Antichrist. Second was the moderate Puritan conclusion, that far too much of Antichrist remained in the English church in the form of political power and persecution of the godly and of papal forms and ceremonies: further reformation was needed. Third was the separatist viewpoint—the Church of England was so totally antichristian that it was impossible to remain in communion with it. Finally, in reaction to these critical views, there was the Laudian position which questioned whether the Pope was Antichrist at all" (62).

ecclesiastical hierarchy and elaborate ritual, and in the related state apparati.[66] The period also sees a war of words among various Protestant sects, who tripped over themselves to label each other anti-Christian. Apocalyptic narrative and utopian visions were combined in radical Puritan millennial utopias. As Bernard McGinn notes,

> The revival of truly millenarian readings of Revelation, which often included a sense of England as an apocalyptically elect nation, did not become popular until the seventeenth century. In the 1640s and 1650s hundreds of sermons and pamphlets, frequently based on texts from Revelation, fueled the fires of social and political unrest. (536)

Cary's interest in *Revelation*, however, also aligns her with a burgeoning sense of England as the new elect nation. She dedicates *Resurrection* to all Saints, but especially those in England. Cary's principal deduction from her reading of *Revelation 11* is that the chapter offers "speciall encouragement unto the high and honourable Court of Parliament; for as much as (a great number of them, being the Witnesses of Jesus Christ)

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[66] *The Grand Remonstrance* (1641) offers an early and clear example of the perceived link between a purported Popish party with influence over Charles I and arbitrary legislative bodies such as the Star Chamber. Cary makes the point a little later in 1648 when she insists that even though England has "fallen away from the mysticall Babylon [Roman Catholicism]" it retains too much popery in its governance, particularly in giving power to the Bishops: "though Queen Elizabeth cast off the Popes supremacy and a great part of his devilish doctrine; yet England did notwithstanding remain one of the horns of the Beast, and a part of Romish Babylon: because there was a party retained, which did exercise authority over the consciences of Saints; which hath proved a great bondage to them … for even in Queen Elizabeths daies, there were some Saints persecuted, that did scruple in some things to conforme to the Bishops; though the Bishops then, were not so bad as they have been since" (*Res*. 85-86).

they were the primary or first instruments, that God made use of to defend the cause of his people, and to preserve them from the tyranny and fury of the Beast" (174-75). For Cary and other Fifth Monarchists, the Parliamentary victory signalled the final defeat of the Beast that would precede Christ's return. Beyond her title-page explanation that her exposition of *Revelation* is dedicated "especially to the Saints in England," Cary suggests that since England is the home of the Saints, London is therefore the spiritual Jerusalem. The title of "Holy City" she explains,

> is given in Scripture unto that city, of which that Jerusalem of old was a figure, and that is, the Saints, and people of God who are all citizens of the holy City. … Jerusalem of old was a figure of this Holy city … where the Saints are called by the name of Jerusalem, only they are differenced from the material Jerusalem, in that they are called, The heavenly Jerusalem…. Now that this Heavenly Jerusalem, which is compacted of Saints, and Sanctified ones, and therefore must needs be a Holy city. (*Res*. 42-43)

By reducing Jerusalem to a "figure" rather than both a historical and a living city, and dividing the "material" city from the Biblical ideal "Holy City," Cary is able to map the spiritual Jerusalem onto England. In her rendering of England and London as particularly holy places inhabited by specially selected Saints, Cary participates in the same tradition as Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. But where Foxe emphasised England's place of privilege as descendants of the first nation to embrace Christianity, Cary and other seventeenth-century radicals go further and claim not only to be *an* elect nation but *the* elect nation replacing Israel.

Cary follows up her exegesis on Revelation with *Little Horns*, a mapping of *The Book of Daniel* onto current events. Although *Little Horns* was published two years after Charles I's execution, Cary claims to have written it seven years prior to its publication—five years before the regicide. This tract, which links Daniel's prophecies with Charles I's fate, participates in the same reading practice exemplified by *Resurrection*.[67] Fifth Monarchists identified Charles I as the little horn of *Daniel* (8:9) and understood his execution as a sign of the imminent return of Jesus to reign over the Saints for a thousand years. Cary was one of the few sectarian writers to welcome the news of the king's death, and asserts the justness of the regicide. Indeed, she insists that the king's execution could only have been achieved with God's help: "How could they which are so few in number and in the eyes of the world despised, and despicable creatures, have carried on that work so effectually, as to have cut off the [head of the] late King," she asks, "had not the Lord assisted them with thousands of Angels, and evidently manifested himselfe to bee with them?" (*Little Horns* 31, 32). Although Cary's celebration of Charles I's execution was somewhat unusual, her millenarianism—or, more generally, her belief in both the possibility and the proximity of a paradise on earth—was far from a fringe belief in mid-seventeenth-century England. It was, in fact, widespread and included among its proponents intellectuals and politicians such as Cromwell, John Milton, and Sir Isaac Newton.[68] In addition, Fifth Monarchists were a strong presence in the army, a powerful

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[67] Not only does this shared reading practice illustrate one point of coherence among Cary's diverse writings, it also suggests one way of reading otherwise obscure texts.

[68] Although Cromwell later changed his position in relation to radical Puritan sects such as the Fifth Monarchists, he invoked *Daniel* and *Revelation* in his address to the opening of the Barebones Parliament

political force in the early years of the commonwealth. Faith in the imminent return of King Jesus and the establishment of His kingdom on earth held significant contemporary political weight. Later in the revolutionary years, Cromwell turned his back on the radical sects, and millennarianism, which had earlier seemed a necessary and urgent response to acute political crisis, fell out of political favour. Part of the short-lived currency of millennial hopes can be attributed to the political turmoil of the mid-century. As Christopher Hill suggests, "in moments of acute social crisis some of the devoutest believers may see signs that the kingdom is at hand and may decide that it is their duty to expedite its coming. At such moments millenarian doctrines become equivalent to social revolution" (1964, 290).

Little Horns, which contains both *The Little Horns Doom and Downfall* and *A New and More Exact Mappe*, is the third of Cary's four published tracts.[69] This volume was published two years after the regicide of 1649, when Puritan hopes for the godly revolution led by Oliver Cromwell were still high, and while Cromwell was still actively sympathetic toward Fifth Monarchists. Cary's attachment to and optimism about the

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in 1653. The shared frame of Biblical reference gave the Saints cause for great optimism. Although Milton never seriously embraced the more radical versions of millennarianism, he was a student of Joseph Mede, one of the most important advocates of millennarianism in England, and doubtless engaged with millenarian thought in its most extreme forms. Moreover, he shared with Cary both a sense of the justness of the regicide and a sense of the English as an elect nation. For his part, Newton wrote a (largely unreadable) explication of *Daniel* and *Revelation*, *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* (published posthumously in 1733).

[69] Although Cary's next, and final, publication is a reprint of her 1648 pamphlet *The Resurrection of the Witnesses* it includes as an appendix a new tract with its own title page, *Twelve Humble Proposals* (1653).

future of the commonwealth can be gauged in part by the tract's dedication, which is addressed to Elizabeth Cromwell and Bridget Ireton (Cromwell's daughter, who was married to the prominent army general Henry Ireton) and Margaret Rolle (who was married to a judge). In her dedication, Cary explains that she has selected these three women because they will be sympathetic to her millennial vision. "I have therefore chosen, (because of your own sex) to dedicate these Treatises to your Ladyships," she writes, "being assured both, First, of your ingenuous, and gracious acceptation hereof; … And also secondly, of your owning, and defending, and maintaining all the truths, which are therein laid down." These dedications to women also construct a community of female readers for Cary's visions.

The trajectory of Cary's writings ends with a political tract, as her utopian hopes peaked with the hopes for Cromwell's support for radical sects. Her final tract, written to the Barebones Parliament while in session, is a carefully worded request for utopian political reform. Like so many prophetic writings of the period, Cary's tracts are also political writings, advocating reform in the present. This trait is most clear in this final tract, *Twelve Humble Proposals to the Supreme Governours of the Three nations* (1653). Here, Cary advocates poor relief, the establishment of a Post Office (taxes from which will support poor relief), and, like other Puritan reformers, overhauling the university structure. Read in conjunction with her more overtly political tracts, Cary's millennial prophecies are also part of an engaged political program in which millennial visions are inseparable from social revolution.

Like other Fifth Monarchists, Cary believed that the Bible offered the key to understanding world history and a blueprint for political change. She used Biblical

prophecies to construct her own vision of a paradise on earth. But it is the transition from her utopian blueprint, *New Jerusalems Glory*, to her most overtly political pamphlet, *Twelve Humble Proposals*, that is most intriguing. The former outlines both the numerous privileges the Saints would enjoy in the Fifth Monarchy and the necessary preconditions for achieving that monarchy. The latter, and final, tract, on the other hand, implicitly suggests that all necessary preconditions are in place and the revolution can begin. Although she positions herself as a humble petitioner to Parliament, her requests carry the weight of prophetic authority. Between the two tracts, Cary switches tense, from the future and future anterior to the present imperative. This change in grammatical tense, I maintain, articulates a shifting relationship to the object of her utopian desires.

The grammar of desire

Grammatically, the future anterior is the tense used to discuss things that "will have happened" by some point in the future. At that future point the event(s) envisioned will have been completed. Statements posed in this tense usually take the form "X will have done" something: will have understood, will have spoken. These statements differ from those in the future tense, in which someone will possess or do one definite thing that is not contingent on another action.[70] The future anterior is also sometimes called the future perfect and sometimes confused with a perfect future—I assume this is some time at which you will have done everything you plan to do, or at which all the necessary,

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[70] My favourite example of the future anterior goes something like this: "I will have finished my dissertation by the spring." The phrase "will have" is followed by the past participle "finished."

desirable social and political reforms will have been enacted. In this sense it is a utopian tense.

The future anterior is also the tense of desire in Lacanian psychoanalytic terms. The future anterior indicates an action that will begin and end in the future, or two future actions where one must precede the other: by the time the latter action occurs, the former will have already finished. In its structure, the future anterior implies a lack: something the speaker does not have in the present but will have at some future point. In psychoanalytic terms, the desire is never realisable and the lack can never be filled. By the time the stated desired object is achieved, a new desired object has replaced it, or "will have replaced it." And this too can be formulated in the future anterior. In Lacanian terms, an unspoken desire always lies beyond the stated demand.[71]

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[71] Several theorists have tackled the idea of the future anterior, notably Slavoj Žižek who devotes several chapters of *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989) to a discussion of temporality. According to Žižek's reading of psychoanalysis and Lacan in particular, the production of meaning is always retroactive: "in stead of the linear, immanent, necessary progression according to which meaning unfolds itself from some initial kernel, we have a radically contingent process of retroactive production of meaning" (102). Writing of Freud's "The Moses of Michelangelo," Peter Buse suggests that the essay and the essay's detractors mobilize the future perfect: "What they unconsciously imagine is in fact *what will have been*, one Freud's analysis is complete. The statue has been made meaningful through the future perfect tense – by imagining an event in the future as already completed in the past. This tense is seen as particularly suited to psychoanalysis, because of its relation to wishes and desires, and because of its tentativeness and uncertainty *vis-à-vis* those very topics" (*Textual Practice*, 10:1,135). Feminist theorists link the future anterior to the current state of feminism. See Alice Jardine's "Notes for an analysis," *Between Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, ed. Teresa Brennan (London: Routledge, 1989): 73-85. In her recent essay, "To Mirror Tomorrow: Reflections on Feminism and the Future" (*Genders* 33), E.L.

I suggest that the future anterior is a tense of utopian desiring, and that those desires are perpetually deferred and never fully attainable. I use this formulation to examine the writings of Mary Cary. One of her pamphlets, *Twelve Proposals*, advocates social and political reform in the present while *Little Horns* and *The New and More Exact Mappe* detail what she and other Fifth Monarchists believed was to be the imminent return of Jesus to reign over a Christian utopia for a thousand years. That Kingdom would be centred at London, the New Jerusalem. Like other Fifth Monarchists, Cary demonstrates that then-recent political events—such as the execution of the King—point to the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy. She lists the privileges that will accrue to the faithful, and outlines the preconditions necessary for Christ's return, that which she deems her society to lack.[72] In Cary's work, the use of the future anterior marks an

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McCallum invokes Lacan to argue that contemporary, postmodern feminism is currently in its mirror phase and links that to (future perfect) temporality: "I posit that we are only now in the midst of feminism's mirror stage, and I do so to suggest that we reconsider the narrative of feminist progress and the sense of closure such narrative presents or projects. If now is feminism's mirror stage, then we are caught up in a temporally ambivalent moment, between anticipation and retroaction, but it is also a constitutive moment" (7). McCallum's reading of feminism's imbrication in the future perfect allows for imagining futures for feminism, allows for the articulation of political projects and desires.

[72] I want to gesture toward the debates about whether it is at all appropriate to apply psychoanalysis to pre-Freudian texts. Much of this depends, among other things, on whether one believes Freud "invented" or merely articulated the unconscious. If you believe he "discovered" psychoanalysis then irrespective of time and place all human beings are equally available for analysis. In his essay, "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," Stephen Greenblatt finds numerous texts that resonate with modern psychoanalytic theory but resists the idea that these prove the universal applicability of Freudian theory. Instead, he turns the universalising tendencies of psychoanalysis on their head and concludes, "psychoanalysis is the

always unstable object of desire. Once achieved, that desired object will be replaced with another. The location of desire shifts perpetually. I assume, however, that Cary's ultimate desire is a transcendental one.

Millennial utopias would seem to be fairly straightforward expressions of desiring. They desire both political and religious reform *and* Christ's return. Although the future anterior is the tense of desire, early modern utopias use what Louis Marin (1984) calls "static description" almost exclusively. And it is in a static future tense that in *New Jerusalems Glory* Mappe Cary outlines the utopian vision of the Fifth Monarchy. In this earthly paradise prophesied by Isaiah (65:17-25 AV), the saints' "prayers shall be speedily heard" (70); "they shall long enjoy the work of their hands, and they shall have abundance of flockes and herds; and eate and drink" (71, see also 288); "they shall live till they come to a good old age" (71, see also 289); and "no ravenous, or hurtfull, or devouring creature shall then do any hurt to man or beast" (71, see also 293-294). All wars will cease (228-230) and Satan will be chained for a thousand years (231-234). In addition, women will be liberated from Eve's punishment for the Fall and will no longer endure pain in childbirth.[73] Although outward privileges of the saints will be numerous,

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historical outcome of certain characteristic Renaissance strategies" (144). Chief among those strategies are early modern property relations and their relationship to contemporary understandings of subjectivity. Moreover, Greenblatt cautions that in many early modern texts "identity is conceived in a way that renders psychoanalytic interpretations marginal or belated" (141). Certainly, seventeenth-century English Christians did not understand themselves as individuals in the same ways late-twentieth- / early-twenty-first-century North Americans might.

[73] Although it is tempting to label Cary "feminist" for this inclusion, the predicted return to Edenic ease in childbirth is also predicted in *Isaiah*, making it, ironically, patriarchal. I think if Cary's feminist politics are

Cary insists that these are secondary to the spiritual powers they will enjoy (285). She uses the simple future countless times and heaps one use on top of another in a dizzying description of future joys to be enjoyed by the Saints:

> they shall inhabit the houses which they build, and eate the fruite of the vineyards which they shall plant, & none shall take from them; but they shall long enjoy the work of their hands; and they shall have abundance of flockes, and herds; and eate and drink, and rejoyce in the Lord, and sing for joy of heart, …[and] they shall live till they come to a good old age, and be blessed. (70-71)

The tense shifts when Cary comes to discuss the steps necessary to prepare for Christ's arrival on earth—the conversion of both Jews (139-168) and Gentiles (161'-170). Cary and other Fifth Monarchists believed the Jews' conversion would be an immediate precursor to Christ's return (one possible source of lack). In sharp contrast to her frequent use of the static future, Cary uses the future anterior only in her discussion "Of the Jews Conversion." Although it remains implicit, Cary never uses the precise formulation "the Jews *will have* converted" before Christ's return. Instead, she envisions their automatic conversion after the Church of Rome is destroyed. Jews, she insists, are such good, God-fearing people that they are currently deterred from conversion by the abuses of Catholics. Rhetorically Cary asks, "Why cannot they [Jews] believe it [that Jesus is the Messiah]?" (140) only to launch into a lengthy diatribe against Catholicism.

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to be located anywhere it is in her socially levelling and anti-hypocrisy sentiments expressed in her final pamphlet, sentiments that resonate more powerfully with the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55).

> [B]ecause that great Whore, the City of Rome, who pretends to have power over all that are called Christians, is such a filthy abominable, hatefull strumpet; such a mother of harlots, and abominations. Whereas the Jewes keep close to the Old Testament, and to the Law contained therein, which is holy, just and good. (140)

She continues to assault Catholics in the conventional anti-papal language of the day, accusing them of "unclean lusts" such as "fornication, adultery, sodomie, and beastiality; practises which the very heathen abhor" (141). Such "abominations," Cary insists, prevent Jews from recognising Christianity as the true faith. Although Jewish conversion is the stated object of Cary's desire, her demand it is inextricably connected to the destruction of Roman control over Christianity. And it is for this she employs the future anterior. Jews will convert, Cary maintains, "when the Lamb *shall have overcome* the ten Kingdomes, and *shall have put* them into a new frame and posture: and when his glory shall be wonderfully seen among his people, and all the world shall heare how gloriously he shall manifest himselfe among them" (142, emphasis added). What they lack is *both* the destruction of the Roman Empire *and* the conversion of the Jews. Those appear to be the stated objects of desire, and, according to Freud, the object "is the thing in regard to which or through which the instinct is able to achieve its aim" (1915, 122).

What happens when Cary shifts tense? As I suggested earlier, the use of the future anterior suggests a perpetually deferred and unattainable desire. In a sense, Cary's career shifts tense with the flagging hopes for a godly Revolution under Cromwell. Her final published pamphlet, *The Twelve Humble Proposals*, is her most overtly political tract, seeking as it does to reform the current ills of London rather than preparing for the

coming millennium. That is, in this pamphlet she shifts from the future tense to the present. This change in tense, and in strategy, leaves resolution of her stated desires in a state of perpetual deferral—at least for her Christian utopia. But the impossibility of the project combined with changed political climate either necessitates a change in strategy or, less optimistically, renders the old strategy of perpetual deferral intolerable. Her silence following this pamphlet also suggests the unspeakableness of perpetual deferral.

More worrying than the implication that Cary's goals are always already unattainable is the latent nationalism that underwrites Cary's desire for Jewish conversion, despite conversion's status as the unrealisable ideal. Fifth Monarchists believed Christ would return to reign the world from London. London was to be the New Jerusalem, England the new Israel. Emergent nationalism deemed the English the new Elect Nation. We can either choose to be reassured by Cary's use of the future anterior—suggesting that such ideological colonisation is always impossible—or we can read the use of the future anterior here as speaking to an enormous cultural anxiety about desiring to be the new Israel, and the new Israelites.

Nationalism of the Elect

> Nationalism is not engendered by nations. It is produced—or better, it is induced—by *political fields* of particular kinds. Its dynamics are governed by the properties of political fields, not by the properties of collectivities.
> Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*

Following Rogers Brubaker, I want to avoid asking "what is a nation?" and thereby getting bogged down in arguing whether or not early modern England had a fully

developed understanding of itself as a nation.[74] The answer in any case is no, and the invocation of "nation" as a category of analysis posits a linear, progressivist development of nationhood. This is something of red herring that prevents us from talking about how "nation" actually functioned in the period. And that is what I hope to begin to examine in this section.

In *The Birthpangs of Protestant England,* Patrick Collinson argues that the combination of the English Reformation and James VI and I's unification of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland gave rise to an intensified, and peculiarly Protestant, nationalism. "The Protestant Reformation," Collinson suggests, "extended and intensified the religious sense of English nationhood, … sublimating and idealizing vulgar Elizabethan nationalism. But it also inhibited and confused that sense, turning it inward and ultimately converting it into a disturbing and divisive as much as a uniting force" (7). Collinson examines late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century writings with a view to what he sees as the religious fragmentation that gave rise to the Civil Wars of the mid-seventeenth century. His discussion of the relationship between Biblical geography, burgeoning nationalism, and English imperialism is useful. After the Bible became widely available in English translation, Collinson maintains, "the Israel of the Old Testament became a familiar paradigm for England, Jerusalem for London. Every

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[74] "We should not ask 'what is a nation' but rather: how is nationhood as a political and cultural form institutionalised within and among states? How does nation work as practical category, as classificatory scheme, as cognitive frame? What makes the use of the category by or against states more or less resonant or effective? What makes the nation-evoking, nation-invoking efforts of political entrepreneurs more or less likely to succeed?" (Brubaker 16)

Biblical type and figure of God's people was now applied to England" (10).[75] Moreover, the discursive mapping of Israel onto England served "to allege two equally covenanted nations, virtually fused in one in the single bond sealed between God and his covenanted people" (Collinson 11). Although he is cautious to warn against any easy assumptions about Protestant unity,[76] Collinson does suggest some of the possible consequences of mapping Israel onto England: "If it really was the case that England was thought to be God's peculiar place, not just *an* elect nation but *the* elect nation, and if that idea was born out of the experience of the Protestant Reformation and its immediate consequences,

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[75] In his discussion of the latent imperialism in "Milton's Spiritual Geography," Jason Rosenblatt finds that "the sacred travel literature of the day dramatizes an unintentionally comic proprietary attitude toward the Holy Land. Under the heading 'English resemblances' in the huge index of A *Pisgah-sight of Palestine,* Biblical towns, cities, and rivers are correlated with their local namesakes: Tirzah ('sweet or delightful') with Beaufield, Kent' Ramah ('High or exalted') with "Uptons, Upham Hamsh., Upburn Buckin.sh. Uphall Hartf.sh, Hie-gate Midlesex', etc. Thomas Fuller's near colonialist point of view appears in countless remarks, as in this casual inversion: *'Sion* ... may be called the *Westminster* of *Jerusalem*"' (55).

[76] In addition to the "increasingly divisive religious discourse of the ensuing decades," Collinson suggests,"[t]he notion that England was united in godliness, a truly protestant nation, had always been somewhat specious. Quite apart from that other considerable minority of popish recusants who stayed away from their parish churches and were debarred from active participation in the affairs of the commonwealth, a body shading into an immeasurable but certainly substantial number of so-called 'church papists', one can only assume that most Englishmen were carried along more or less passively by the public mood of protestant embattlement" (Collinson 27).

then we have unearthed in protestant religious consciousness a root, perhaps even the taproot, of English imperialism" (Collinson 5).[77]

Mary Cary's attachment to and development of "nation" as a concept-metaphor extends beyond merely following the King James translators in their use of the word and beyond simple chauvinism. In her dedicatory epistle to the Ladies Cromwell, Ireton, and Role, Cary praises the three women as "among the many pious, precious, prudent, and sage matrons, and holy women, with which this Common-wealth is adorned; as with so many precious jewels, and choice gemmes, (which God having here and there placed in it, doe set out the glory and lustre of the Nation" (A3v). But it is her gloss on "nation" that links conventional praise of women's attributes, here spiritual attributes, with Protestant nationalism. "This nation so farre excels in glory, and happinesse all other Nations," Cary's note explains, "because of those number of precious Saints that are in it" (A3v-A4). While likening the women and their sagacity to precious jewels clearly falls into the rubric of conventional flattery, Cary extrapolates from the commonplace of women's status as gems in the poetic economy to an insistence that it is the Saints who increase the value of the nation. She concludes her gloss with a reference to Thomas Goodwin's *Great Interest of States and Kingdomes* (1645), which, Cary approvingly notes, claims that seventeenth-century Englishmen could only have preferred Christ's

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[77] It is a "taproot" which reaches full bloom in the oft-cited passage from Milton's Areopagitica: "Why else was this Nation chos'n before any other, that out of her as out of Sion should be proclaim'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europe?" In addition, the discursive alignment of England with Israel, and by extension the English with the Israelites, is played out on the bodies of early modern Jews in ways that are, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this paper.

Israel for a time and place to live. England holds second-place perhaps, but only to one other time and place. While not offering a "detailed enumeration of the parts of [a] woman's body," Cary's blazon still manifests the same desire for mastery that David Norbrook associates with the new science (43).[78] Here, however, the ordering principle is not then recent anatomical discoveries but a burgeoning godly nationalism.

Conclusion

Interestingly, Fifth Monarchists were one of the few sects that did not send out foreign missionaries. They focussed their proselytising energies in England rather than on the outside. In his study of Puritan utopias, James Holstun, however, claims the idea of an exilic population is ideologically necessary to those utopian projects, even if the writers themselves did not travel (Holstun). Following in the tradition of Foxe, those writers also represent themselves as the other within England, the persecuted ones calling for ever greater, more Saintly reformation. The other with which they most concern themselves is the Anti-Christ, which they locate variously in individual people, actions, and institutions.

After the failure of the Commonwealth, many Puritans turned their hopes to the New World—some also moved there. Even though many of her ilk felt this post-lapsarian

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[78] "[T]he vogue in the sixteenth century for the blazon, the detailed enumeration of the parts of the woman's body, can be seen as reflecting the new scientific mentality with its mastering gaze, its passion for mapping the world in order to gain power over it" (Norbrook 43). For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the blazon and early modern anatomy, see Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned* (Routledge, 1995).

world to be beyond reform, Cary turns her attention to political reform in England and finally retreats into silence. Following the Barebones Parliament and after Cromwell's failure to support the Fifth Monarchist agenda of radical reform that, it was hoped, would precipitate the apocalypse, Cary ceases to participate in the public theatre of print. Whether she actively chose silence or whether no printer would publish her writings under a changed political climate remains a mystery. But her silence is palpable and as sudden and unexplained as her entry into print.

Like so many prophetic writings of the period, Cary's tracts are also political writings, advocating reform in the present. Cary's millennial prophecies are also part of an engaged political program. She was also an active participant in the brief but vigorous burst of publishing that surrounded the Civil War years and Interregnum. The one small, short-lived window for large-scale participation by women and unpropertied men in political and religious debates closed shortly thereafter and was not reopened until women and unpropertied men began demanding voting rights in the early nineteenth century. Interestingly, the same period that saw the extension of franchise also enacted a series of Poor Laws, the likes of which Cary's *Twelve Proposals* anticipates.

Chapter 3: "The Lord hath joined us together, and wo be to them that should part us": Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers as Travelling Friends

This chapter examines the relationship between early modern women's critiques of marriage and their access to mobility. In particular, I contrast the anti-marriage sentiment expressed in several of Cavendish's plays—a sentiment that is consistently undermined by each play's culmination in the marriage of most of the heroines and, moreover, is combined with her resistance to travel[79]—with the mobilization of marriage by two Quaker women missionaries, Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers. While held by the Inquisition in Malta, Evans and Chevers represent themselves as married to one another and therefore indivisible. In part, this stance is predicated upon their espousal of marriage in opposition to what they deem their captors' "sodomitical" rejection of the institution. Moreover and although this seems paradoxical on the surface, as Quaker women their promotion of marriage is one condition of possibility for their overseas travel. In contrast, the faltering and temporary rejection of marriage evinced by several of Cavendish's plays is conjoined with a repudiation of female mobility.

Cavendish and Female Travel

Like so many of Cavendish's plays, *The Several Wits* (*Playes* 1662) revolves around a group of witty women who are courted by various suitors. At the outset of the play, the Ladies Caprisia, Volante, Solid, and Doltche offer spirited rebuttals to each suitor and discuss the disadvantages of the married life for women. Volante, for one,

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[79] See Chapter I for a fuller discussion of the ultimate "ambivalence" of Cavendish's proto-feminist "utopian" plays and for a brief discussion of her anti-travel sentiment.

prefers suitors' gallant behaviour in courtship to what she knows of marriage. Ultimately, however, each of the women curbs her wit and submits to marriage to a man who complements her nature; Caprisia marries Monsieur Generosity and Volante marries Monsieur Discretion. The play ends in an ambiguously happy ending that speaks to the limited options Cavendish saw for even the wittiest women. Along the way, one of the suitors, Monsieur Profession, declares to his reluctant beloved, Madam Solid, "Madam, my soul is tyed to your soul, with such an undissoluable knot of affection, that nothing, no, not death can lose it, nor break it asunder; wherefore, *wheresoever your soul doth go, mine will follow it*, and bear it company" (83, emphasis added). This passage echoes with Ruth's pledge to Naomi: "Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God" (Ruth 1:16). The widowed Ruth should return to her birth family and even her bereaved mother-in-law, Naomi, tells Ruth to return to her own mother's people. She refuses, however, and remains with her former mother-in-law. Ruth and Naomi provide women travellers with a model to justify leaving behind patriarchal family ties in favour of female bonds, as Ruth does.

Cavendish robs this near endorsement of female mobility from patriarchal obligations of its subversive potential and makes it conform to a model of compulsory heterosexuality. Although Monsieur Profession's courtship resonates with both the passage from Ruth and with marriage vows, he translates Ruth's pledge to follow her mother-in-law from a material to a spiritual plane. Moreover, his suit is unsuccessful: he doesn't get the girl. Despite her lengthy speeches in support of the single, contemplative life, Solid, the most shy and retiring of the four women, ultimately marries Monsieur

Perfection. Not only has Cavendish put the words of a woman pledging allegiance to a woman in the mouth of a man, she has also rendered those powerful words used to defend female mobility impotent.

Instead of direct reference to Ruth's pledge to Naomi, Evans and Chevers invoke marriage vows during the various documents that detail their captivity by the Inquisition at Malta. The two women recite a version of the marriage vow in order to defend their desire to remain in the same cell together while imprisoned on Malta. In so doing, however, they attempt to become inseparable, like Ruth and Naomi.

Evans and Cheevers at Malta

In 1658, Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, two Quaker preachers whose previous missionary travels had taken them to Scotland, Ireland, and all over England, left London for Alexandria and Istanbul. Travelling together, part of their purpose was to follow Paul's travels, but they also hoped to meet with and to convert the Sultan. When the women arrived at Malta en route to Turkey and Alexandria, they began distributing Quaker literature, and interrupted a Catholic Mass. As a result of their preaching, Evans and Cheevers very quickly came to the attention of Catholic authorities on Malta. They were summoned to the English Consul's residence, where they were interrogated by the Catholic authorities. Several weeks after their preliminary interrogation, the Consul, James Watts, whom the women called Judas, turned Evans and Cheevers over to the Inquisition, where they were confined to a tiny, airless cell without access to light, water, or regular supplies of food. They were also frequently deprived writing materials.

Despite these privations, Evans and Cheevers wrote a lengthy narrative, as well as numerous hymns, prayers, and letters to family members and Quaker Friends during their captivity, which would last three years. Several of these documents were smuggled out of the country by Daniel Baker, a fellow Quaker and ship's captain moored at Malta. Baker visited Evans and Cheevers in prison and tried to negotiate for their release. When he could not secure their liberty, he arranged for the publication of their writings on his return to England.[80] The circular, fragmentary, and repetitive quality of the narratives suggests that the various documents were written and published in haste, with little editorial intervention.[81]

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[80] The combined documents, including letters to friends and family members, were published in 1662 under the lengthy title, *This is a Short Relation of some of the Cruel Sufferings (For the Truths sake) of Katharine Evans & Sarah Chevers*. The *Short Relation* was reprinted at least twice, each time with a few additions. After the women's return to England, narratives of their release and journey home via Tunisia were added in edition published in 1663, *A True Account of the Great Tryals and Cruel Sufferings undergone by ... Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers*. In a testament to the continuing popularity of their narrative among early Quaker readers, another version appeared in 1715. For this edition, *A Brief History of the Voyage of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers*, there appear to have been at least two imprints with differing pagination. The 1663 and 1715 editions also include George Robinson's narrative of his journey to Jerusalem.

[81] For his part, Baker supplements these texts only with a brief introduction that gives some historical context, as well as a few scattered notes between some of the women's letters. He does not appear to have modified the women's writings substantially, if at all. Although Baker's introduction does frame the narratives that follow, it is difficult to maintain, as Rosemary Kegl does, that he uses their writings to shore up his own subjectivity. "Baker," she claims, "authorizes his own position as the recorder who will make sense of the suffering through which the women bear witness to God's will. And, at the same time, he

During the women's captivity, Inquisitors and captives—each equally convinced of the rectitude and exclusivity of their path to God—attempted to convert each other. In addition to Evans and Cheevers's steadfast faith, their writings were a constant source of conflict between them and their Inquisitors, who attempted to deprive the women of writing materials, and who circumscribed their literary activities on numerous occasions. The battle between Evans and Cheevers and the Inquisition was staged, therefore, at least in part over access to pen and paper. Indeed, both writerly and spiritual authority are at issue here, and stand in contested relation to one another. Furthermore, both writerly and spiritual authority are intimately linked to early modern understandings of female authorship and self-representation.

Primarily, Evans and Cheevers's writings recount their interactions with the Catholic Church and demonstrate their steadfast faith in the face of numerous attempts to convince them to recant and convert to Catholicism. In their writings, however, the women also articulated their relationship to each other. During their captivity, Evans and Cheevers provided each other with ongoing spiritual and material support, remaining unified in their faith despite their eventual physical separation. Their mutual support and indivisibility—as well as their own articulation of their relationship as a marriage—has been variously portrayed as an example of early modern women's negotiation of property relations, an instance of early feminist theology, an example of "Quaker literary style,"

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acknowledges the influential position within the Quaker movement of those who edit both published and unpublished accounts of suffering" (64). As I hope will become clear, the suggestion that one (male) Quaker profits in the eyes of the community on the backs of two women overlooks the significance of a larger network of female Friends and a culture of collaborative publication.

and evidence of early modern "lesbianism."[82] In this chapter, however, I argue that in their lives and writings, Evans and Cheevers negotiate complex, interrelated networks of early modern and Quaker ideologies of F/friendship, marriage, collaborative authorship, and missionary travel.[83] Further, each of these relations is eroticized, but that eroticism defies easy translation into a modern, identarian rendering of sexuality.

When Evans and Cheevers were first imprisoned in Malta, they were placed in the same cell. Their resistance to conversion was so strong, however, that their captors decided to separate them. Separation, the Inquisitors hoped, would weaken the women's resolve; they would admit the error of their Quaker beliefs once isolated from each other. In response to the threat of separation, however, the women ranted, raved, broke out in rashes, and declared themselves married to one another and therefore indivisible. Their horrified captors left them alone for several more weeks, but ultimately returned to separate them. To the chagrin of the Inquisitors, Evans and Cheevers proved just as resistant to conversion when separated as when they occupied the same cell.

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[82] For each of these castings of Evans and Cheevers see, respectively, Rosemary Kegl's "Women's Preaching and Absolute Property." *Women's Studies*. 24: 1 (1994):51-83; Mary Garman, et al, eds. *Hidden in Plain Sight*. Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1996; Margaret Ezell's *Writing Women's Literary History*; and Elspeth Graham, et al, eds. *Her Own Life*. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.

[83] Early Quakers referred to other Quakers as "Friends." The term "Quaker" was reserved for derision by non-believers. Although no known seventeenth-century Quaker offers an explication of the term "Friend," it remains distinct from a more general "friendliness." I use "F/friend" and "F/friendship" to indicate a blurring between the two categories of friend, a specific relationship between Quakers who are friends with one another as well as "Friends of Truth."

The first of the women's narratives offers details of the altercations between Inquisitors and their captives over both writing materials and the women's desire to remain together in prison, for which Evans invokes marriage vows:

> We asked why they took away our goods? They said, it was all theirs, and our lives too, if they would. We asked, how we had forfeited our lives unto them; they said, For bringing Books and Papers. We said, if there were any thing in them that was not true, they might write against it. They said, they did not scorn to write to fools and asses that did not know true Latine. And they told us, the Inquisitor would have us separated, because I was weak, and I should go into a cooler room; but Sarah should abide there. I took her by the arm, and said, The Lord hath joined us together, and wo be to them that should part us. I said, I rather chuse to dye there with my friend, than to part from her. He was smitten, and went away, and came no more in five weeks, … they did not part us till ten Weeks after: But oh the dark clouds and the sharp showers the Lord did carry us through! Death it self had been better than to have parted in that place. They said, we corrupted each other, and that they thought when we were parted, we would have bowed to them. But they found we were more stronger afterwards than we were before; the Lord our God did fit us for every condition. (13-14)

Throughout their captivity, then, Evans and Cheevers attempted to assert control, sometimes successfully, over the physical structure of their relationship. Although they were eventually separated, the women still refused to bow to their Inquisitors. The

Inquisitors' fear that Evans and Cheevers would corrupt each other if they remained together is, I suggest, a fear that together the women would give each other strength to resist Catholic conversion. Both Quaker and Catholic parties to this altercation are interested in spiritual corruption rather than corporeal, sexual corruption. Separation was a strategy based on the assumption that they would be easier to convert individually. The Inquisitors' hypothesis, however, was disproved. Once separated, the women continued to frustrate their captors by responding to interrogation with identical answers. And this is the sense in which they remain uncorrupted in the eyes of their Quaker audience.

Some of the conditions of possibility and conditions of intelligibility for Evans and Cheevers's unified voice, collaborative authorship, and travelling ministry rests in Quaker Women's Meetings. Established by Quaker founder George Fox as an avenue for women's charitable activities, these meetings afforded Quaker women both considerable temporal authority and an active forum for developing female friendships. Evans and Cheevers's friendship is also situated within the context of early modern friendship discourses and Quaker ideology of marriage.

Travelling Friends

In part, travelling companions offered each other some measure of safety in a world often actively hostile toward Quakers, and same-sex partnerships exempted missionaries of both sexes from charges of sexual impropriety.[84] These travelling partnerships cannot,

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[84] In her discussion of the much-debated status of marital celibacy among early Quakers, Phyllis Mack makes a similar point: "the exigencies of itinerant prophecy made periodic celibacy an *ad hoc* necessity

however, be simply dismissed as defensive maneuvers or protective mechanisms. Whether or not these relationships were born of necessity, they allowed Quaker women from Margaret Fell to Joan Vokins and Evans and Cheevers to leave husbands and children behind, putting their own missionary work and, I suggest, their relationships to each other, above the responsibilities of marriage to subvert the presumed hierarchy of relationships in a woman's life. As with all social restrictions and regulation, the imperative for Quaker women missionaries to travel together opens up particular relational possibilities as it forecloses others.[85] Along with Quaker Women's Meetings, these travelling partnerships offer glimpses into friendships between early modern women.

In addition to being cellmates, co-authors and companionate "yoke-fellows," Evans and Cheevers's relationship was a travelling F/friendship that was part of a larger movement. Same-sex travelling companions, in fact, were far from uncommon in Quaker and Puritan missionary circles. In her various travels to North America and the Caribbean, for example, Quaker preacher Joan Vokins was accompanied by a series of fellow Quaker women travelers. Vokins made several journeys to the "New World," including travels to New England, New York, Rhode Island, Antigua, St. Nevis, and Barbados. On each journey, assorted Quaker women joined her (Garman 159). In her

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because of Friends' concern to avoid giving cause for slander by sceptical outsiders. Most missionaries therefore traveled in single-sex pairs" (Mack 228).

[85] For a fuller explication of the productive nature of power relations, of the "government" of members of a community see Michel Foucault's "The Subject and Power." *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1983): 208-226.

posthumously published account of her missionary travels, *God's Mighty Power Magnified* (1691), Vokins lists dozens of "Maiden" F/friends who accompanied her for portions of her journey. "And I arrived at New York the 4th day of the 3d Month, 80," Vokins relates in a typical passage, "and a Maiden Friend, whose Name was Sarah Yoklet went with me from England, and traveled with me until I came to Oyster-Bay in Long Island; and the Lord so ordered it, that when she left me, another Woman-Friend, that had a Testimony, was my Companion several Months, whose name was Lydia Wright" (Vokins 35-36).

In addition to inspiring and supporting individual Quaker women to follow her in missionary work, Vokins actively worked to create and preserve spaces for female Quakers to wield spiritual authority and administer godly works. In many ways, Vokins's female travelling companions were the mobile extension of Quaker Women's Meetings. These partnerships extend the work of the women's meetings from local ministry to overseas missionary work. At one point, Vokins broke off her missionary travels to return to England to defend Quaker Women's Meetings:

> I hope I shall never forget how the Power of [the Spirit] brought me into Subjection, and made me willing to be disposed of by it; and when it had wrought me into a single Resignment, then was my weighty Concern (touching my Journey to New England) taken off, and a Service laid upon me to go back, and labour for the Settlement of our Womens Meetings in our County of Berks … the Mothers in Israel were so dismayed, as we were likely to have lost our Womens Meeting; but Praises, Honour, and Renown, be ascribed unto that Almighty Power that hath set up and setled

> his Womens Meeting, saith my Soul … the Lord owns our Womens Meetings, and hath manifested and magnified his excellent Power therein. (29-30)

Throughout her travels, Vokins sought out and visited local Quaker Women's Meetings, and expressed concern when they were absent. Her life and her writing display a commitment to female community and spiritual companionship, both in travel and at home. Although she interrupted one voyage to return to England to defend separate meetings, missionary travel and Women's Meetings are inextricably intertwined for Vokins. This mutual constitution extends beyond Vokins to all Quaker women missionaries and members of Women's meetings.

Early in the Quaker movement, while the Friends' organization, meeting structure, and theology were highly protean, George Fox established separate Quaker Women's Meetings to look after the sick, unemployed, and widowed. These meetings also established a semi-formal system for mentoring the younger women members. Unsurprisingly perhaps, the Women's Meetings were the object of much debate in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The Westmoreland Quakers, for example, separated from Margaret Fell and George Fox in part over the founders' support of separate Women's Meetings. In 1680, Anne Whitehead and Mary Elson published two letters in defense of separate meetings under the shared title *An Epistle for True Love, Unity and Order in the Church of Christ*. In her letter, Elson recounts Fox's visit to London that inspired him to call for the creation of Women's Meetings. Fox, she relates, "was many times sent for to many that were Sick and Weak in this City, and when he came to behold their want of things needful … The consideration of it was weighty upon him, and he was

moved of the Lord to advise to a Womans Meeting." He declared "that there should be a Womans Meeting, that so all the Sick, the Weak, the Widdows and Fatherless, should be minded and looked after in their Distresses, that so there should be no Want amongst the Lords People, but that all Distressed ones should be minded and looked after" (12).

The charitable mission described by Elson accords with the goals Fox outlines in his *Epistles*. After visiting a sick woman and her child in Whitechapel, Fox met with Sarah Blackbury who came "to complain to me of the poor, and how many poor Friends was in want: and the Lord," he relates, "showed me what I should do ... So, I spoke to her, to bid about sixty women to meet me." When the women meet with Fox, he "declared unto them, concerning their having a meeting once a week, every second-day that they might see and inquire into the necessity of all Friends who was sick and weak and who was in wants, or widows and fatherless" (cited in Braithwaite 341).

Several other members of the Women's Meetings described the important role the women and the meetings played in their own and each other's lives, offering spiritual support and guidance to other members. In her 1686 letter to the London Women's Meeting, for example, Theophilia Townsend urges the members of that meeting to "watch over the younger for good, and be good patterns and Holy examples to them, and use all diligence to admonish, and counsel, with much tenderness in the wisdom and power of God" (3). The six women who wrote on behalf of the London Women's Meeting in 1685 linked the exemplary role of older Quaker women with the Meeting's investment in marriage. "The Elder Women," they wrote, echoing Paul, "are to be Teachers of good things, and instruct and teach the Younger to be Sober, and love their Husbands and Children, and to be discreet, good and chaste" (3). Articulating the

connection between setting an example for younger members and the requirement that all marriages come before their meeting, the writers continue:

> So there is a great charge and care lies upon these Aged Women in the Truth, who are to teach these good things that the Younger be trained up in that which is good, sober and discreet, chaste and virtuous.... Here we Aged Women in the Truth, have a Gift to be exercised in; and such a care lieth upon us, that the Church of Christ be not scandalized. And we have a concern, as it *Tit.* 2 relating to Marriages, both before and after they are Marryed. (3)

Charged primarily with pastoral care, Women's Meetings silently took on the additional role of vetting marriages within the community, a role that does not appear to have been sanctioned by Fox. Indeed, in two of his writings on marriage, *Concerning Marriage* (1661) and *The True Marriage Declared* (1679), Fox outlines a process for Quakers to announce their intent to marry to the meeting, but does not specify that couples must also seek the specific approval of the Women's Meeting. In practice, however, Quaker couples did have to consult the women members directly, and this was one of the points of contention over Women's Meetings in the decade after they were established. Against those who opposed Quaker women's role in approving marriages, Whitehead writes powerfully:

> It is Imposition (saith the Workers of Dissention) for Marriages to offer their Intentions to the Consideration of the Womens Meeting. But pray consider, in the Reason of Truth, a Marriage hath an equal Concern in the Woman, as in the Man; and 'tis as reasonable to consider the Women may

> have as near a Concern in that matter with the Woman, as the Men on the other Part. And farther 'tis said, 'Tis Imposition to go more than once to the Brethrens Meeting. But say we, that are in our wholesome Practices in these Matters …[we] cannot encourage or allow People we are concerned with, to hasten or run together in Marriage, without due Care and Weightiness. (7)

Whitehead slides from Fox's divinely inspired justification for establishing Women's Meetings, a justification that is echoed by Elson, into a resolutely secular defense of Quaker women's role in approving marriages.

The combination of mentoring activities and authority over marriage afforded the Women's Meetings considerable temporal importance. In addition to the opportunity to exercise earthly and spiritual authority, the separate meetings allowed a site for cultivating friendships between Convinced women. As they began to look beyond their original function of tending to members of their immediate communities, Women's Meetings also raised funds for imprisoned or missionary Friends, occasionally female travelling companions like Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers.

Mary Fisher was another Quaker woman who, like Evans and Cheevers, traveled overseas in hopes of converting the Sultan. She was accompanied by Anne Austin on her fateful 1660 trip to Boston. As William Braithwaite notes in his history of early Quakers, the women were "summarily expelled" from the city by Massachusetts authorities inflamed by the "venomous" anti-Quaker pamphlets written by Calvinist divines (402).[86]

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[86]Braithwaite gives a brief account of the women's short-lived visit to Boston: "Mary Fisher and Ann Austin reaching Barbados at the end of 1655, and proceeding to Boston in the summer of 1656. The

Earlier, in 1657, Fisher had joined a group of six Quakers, three men and three women, and left England for Jerusalem. By the time she arrived at Adrianople and arranged an audience with the Sultan, Fisher's travelling companions had been reduced to just one other Quaker woman, Beatrice Beckly. Not only did Fisher receive an audience with the Sultan, Mohammed IV, but she and Beckly returned safely to England. In fact, Thomas Bendish, the English ambassador to Constantinople, urged all members of their party to return home; he feared they were giving English Protestants a bad name. Having completed their mission, Fisher and Beckly obeyed but two of the men, John Perrot and John Luffe, proceeded to Rome together, where they were both imprisoned. Luffe was summarily hanged and Perrot languished first in jail and later in a "madhouse" for three years.[87]

Following the interpretations of early Quakers, historians of Quakerism usually ascribe the quality of treatment received by various missionaries to the religion of the hosts. Braithwaite, for example, comments that the Sultan treated Fisher with the utmost respect:

> When the Vizier was told that an English woman had come to the camp near Adrianople with a message from the great God to the Sultan, he caused her to be received with state ceremony. ... Bidden to speak her

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venomous Anti-Quaker pamphlets, written by Calvinist divines who had lived in New England, had already inflamed the Massachusetts authorities against the Quakers, and the two women were summarily expelled, the same drastic treatment being applied to the eight Friends who arrived from London two days later and constituted the main mission" (402).

[87] For a complete account of the six Quakers' journey, see Braithwaite (420-28).

> message, she stayed awhile before she began, weightily pondering what to say. The Sultan told her not to fear, but to speak the work of the Lord to them, neither more nor less, for they had good hearts to hear it. (423)

Similarly, when two men of their party ventured to Venice, they found a warm reception among Venetian Jews:

> They spent some time in spreading the Quaker message by writing and word of mouth among persons of all nations—Turks, Jews, Indian, Papist, and Protestants—and had some entrance, especially among the Jews. They found that the Jews did not deny that the light in the conscience was the chief teacher, and were willing, both in the synagogues, on the Change, and elsewhere to enter into conversation delighting 'to hear of any hopes of an admission for them to live in England, which might tend much to the conversion of some among them, if such a thing might come to pass.' (Braithwaite 427)

According to this version of events, non-Christians—Jews, Muslims, and "heathens"—seemed to offer Quakers quite hospitable receptions. To the surprise of many Quaker travelers, however, other Christians of all persuasions were often violently hostile toward the Friends.

The earliest recorded female Quaker minister, Elizabeth Hooten, for example, found a marked difference between the treatment she received from Native Americans versus that afforded her by early settlers in her second visit to New England. After having been whipped in Boston for preaching her faith, Hooten was banished into the surrounding wilderness:

> thus have they used us English people, as Vagabond Rogues and wandring Quakers which had not a dwelling place which were true borne English people of their own Nation, yet had the Indians which were barbarous savage people, which neither knew God nor Christ in any profession have been willing to receive us into their Wigwams, or houses, when these professors would murther us. (45)

In some circumstances, however, female Quakers were exempted from the harshest punishments; at least, the authorities seemed reluctant to treat women as severely as men. Sentenced to hang with William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson in 1659, for example, Mary Dyer was given a last-minute reprieve on the condition that she never return to Boston. In May 1660, however, she returned and was hanged.

(Homosocial) Friendship and/or (Heterosexual) Marriage

Seventeenth-century ideologies of marriage and friendship depended upon hierarchical relations between men and women, between propertied and unpropertied men. As Jeffrey Masten and Alan Bray have argued, however, friendship even between men of the same class in this period stands in anxious relation with homosociality and sodomy. While both friendship and marriage are available to propertied, early modern men, they occupy distinct places. A woman, on the other hand, could not be both wife and friend to her husband since women's natural lack of intellect disqualified them from friendship. In addition, a woman's inability to hold property also disqualified her materially. This complex set of hierarchical relations, placing male-male friendship above marriage for men and excluding women from friendship entirely, was nonsensical to Quaker women

such as Evans and Cheevers. Not only did all Quakers, male and female, refer to one another by the title "Friend" but they also rejected contemporary understandings of marriage as a relationship administered by men and underwritten by property relations.

Evans and Cheevers's performance of mobile female F/friendship was subtended both by their knowledge of scripture and by Quaker beliefs, and informed by an active network of women Friends. That network extended beyond the boundaries of the weekly and monthly meetings out into the world, beyond women's ordained role of tending to the needy in their own communities to mobile, public ministry.[88] Quaker women's preaching careers were supported by the Friends' belief that the Light within, the Quaker belief that the spirit of Christ resides within the individual, was equally available to both women and men. In one of her letters to her husband, written from Malta, Cheevers explains, "my life is given up to serve the living God, and to obey his pure Call… and bring to light Immortality through the preaching of the everlasting Gospel by the Spirit of

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[88] Interestingly, Evans and Cheevers may well have met up with Mary Fisher and Beatrice Beckly at Leghorn. Fisher and Beckly were returning home from travels while Evans and Cheevers were just beginning theirs. After securing a copy of a Maltese account of the Inquisition, *The Tribunal of the Inquisition in Malta* (Royal University of Malta Historical Studies, 1964), Henry Cadbury published a segment of the Evans and Cheevers's trial documents which include the following passage from Cheevers's testimony: "There were … two ladies, whom both Katharine and herself had met in Leghorn, one named Mary Fisher and the other Patras [*sic*]. These two ladies had informed them that two other gentleman were in Rome but by then had returned to England without being recognised … Another lady named Hester Bisel [*sic*], together with another whose name she could not recollect, had also left for Alexandria." See Cadbury's "Friends and the Inquisition at Malta." *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*. 53:3. (1974): 219-225.

Prophesie, which is poured out upon the sons and daughters of the living God, according to his purpose" (56).[89] In part, the belief in the gender neutrality of the soul and women's ability to minister offered a condition of possibility for founding separate Women's Meetings. In turn, those meetings helped create a culture of active women ministers with a formal organization in which to develop that network.

In addition, as Quakers, Evans and Cheevers were members of what was later to become the Religious Society of Friends. At the time, this was a loose organization of fellow believers in the indwelling of Christ. The earliest names for the group was the "Children of Light" or "Friends of Truth," but the term "Friend" was used so frequently as to not need any explanation. Friends already understood themselves to belong to a society based not on heredity but spiritual affinity, F/friendship.

In his edition of George Fox's *Journal*, Rufus Jones notes the first use of the term "friend" in the autobiography:

> 'Friends' is here used for the first time in the Journal as the name of the new denomination. It is not possible to determine when the name was adopted or why it was chosen. When the Journal was written the term had already become fixed and Fox uses it without comment or explanation, referring it back to a period before it came into use as the name of the Society. At first the word 'friends' was probably used in an untechnical sense for those who were *friendly*, and little by little it hardened into a

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[89] Margaret Fell Fox's famous 1667 pamphlet, *Womens Speaking Justified*, invokes the same passages from Acts 2.27 and Joel 2.28, which insist that both the Sons and Daughters of Israel will be given the gift of prophesy to counter Pauline injunctions against women's speech.

> name. At the very beginning they called themselves 'Children of the Light.'[90]

The term indicates a relationship to God, "Friends of Truth," rather than a relationship between individual believers. But the two meanings blur.

Although Braithwaite finds one (dubious) reference, dating from 1665, to the official name by which Quakers would come to be known, he cautions that it is "premature, in 1656, to speak of the Society of Friends. This name is not met with till later" (307). Braithwaite also finds the phrase in the writing of William Erbury in 1652. In addition, a distinction between the capitalized "Friends," used to refer to other convinced Quakers, and the more general, lower-case "friendliness," is at work in the writing of many early Quakers. For example, Evans and Cheevers in their writing distinguish between Evans's husband, who was also a Quaker, and therefore a Friend, and Cheevers's husband, who was not.

Contemporary Quaker beliefs structure the self-understandings and relationships of convinced Friends, and both proceed without the clear boundaries between individuals celebrated by modern psychoanalysis. According to Phyllis Mack, convinced Quakers idealized a community of Friends in which clear boundaries between individual Spirits

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[90] The passage for which Jones offers this explication reads: "Removing to another place, I came among a people that relied much on dreams. I told them, except they could distinguish between dream and dream, they would confound all together; for there were three sorts of dreams; multitude of business sometimes caused dreams, and there were whisperings of Satan in man in the night season; and there were speakings of God to man in dreams. But these people came out of these things, and at last became Friends." "F/friends" is used throughout the Journal but is never explicated. As with Evans and Chevers, there is a noticeable difference in the term's valence marked by the presence or absence of a capital.

blur: "Quakers' attitude toward the self differed radically from the one that dominates our own, late twentieth-century Western culture, informed by fairly rigid standards of self-control and self-integration. … The Quakers' conception of the self turns our modern archaeology of the personality virtually upside down" (Mack 135).

Interestingly, Montaigne idealizes the same blurring of boundaries between true friends. "In the friendship I speak of," he explains in "De l'amitié," the friends "mix and blend one into the other in so perfect a union that the seam which has joined them is effaced and disappears. If I were pressed to say why I love him, I feel that my only reply could be: 'Because it was he, because it was I'" (de Montaigne 97). In 1603, John Florio published his translation of de Montaigne, *Essayes*; various subsequent editions testify to their significance to early seventeenth-century English literary culture.[91] Although it is highly unlikely that Quaker women were much concerned with a French Catholic's rendering of friendship, the similarities speak to a shared cultural framework. Montaigne celebrates a specific friendship in his past that was based not upon the countless kindnesses between the two friends but was, rather, "some mysterious quintessence of all this mixture which possess itself of my will, and led it to plunge and lose itself in his; which possessed itself of his whole will, and led it, with a similar hunger and a like impulse, to plunge and lose itself in mine. I may truly say *lose*, for it left us with nothing that was our own, nothing that was either his or mine" (97-98). Despite the seemingly

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[91] Masten makes a similar claim for reading Montaigne: "Though Montaigne's essays are of course significant in the original French cultural context, I am here concerned not with Montaigne 'himself' or the French text of 'De l'amitié,' but, instead, with what the translated essay puts into circulation in England" (177).

overt sexual language of this passage—he repeats the phrase "to plunge and lose itself in his" with only a slight variation, "to plunge and lose itself in mine"—and despite the difference in age between the younger Montaigne and his more senior friend, Montaigne outright rejects what he deems the Greek model of friendship that encompassed sex between older Citizens and their younger protegees.[92] "As for that alternative, permitted by the Greeks," he admonishes, "our morality rightly abhors it" (95). Perhaps especially when disavowed, early modern friendships are always also erotic attachments. But even more to the point for comparison with Evans and Cheevers than the erotic valence to this ideal meeting of minds equals in the bonds of true friendship is the claim that all is held in common between friends; nothing shared in the friendship belongs exclusively to either party.[93]

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[92] The French bears out my inferences of erotic attachment: "Ce n'est pas une speciale consideration, ny deux, ny trois, ny quatre, ny mille: c'est je ne sçay quelle quinte essence de tout ce meslange, qui, ayant saisi tout ma volonté, l'amena se plonger et se perdre dans la sienne; qui, ayant saisi toute sa volonté, l'amena se plonger et se perdre en la mienne, d'une faim, d'une concurrence pareille" (189). (Pierre Villey, ed. Paris: Quadridge, Presses Universitaires de France, 1965).

[93] A bit later in his discourse on friendship, Montaigne makes the sharing of property more explicit: "Everything being in effect common between them—will, thoughts, opinions, goods, wives, children, honour, and life—and their agreement being that of one soul in two bodies, … they can neither lend nor give one another anything" (99). While this is most likely meant to suggest shared responsibility for one another's lives and business affairs rather than access to one another's marital beds, the sharing of wives resonates with Plato's *Republic*. But there the sexual implications are much more explicit: "there's to be no such thing as private marriage between these women and these men: all the women are to be shared among all the men. And the children are also to be shared, with no parent knowing which child is his, or child knowing his parent" (170). As an aside, this is precisely the aspect of Plato's utopian vision that early

Partly because women's relation to property was extremely fraught in the seventeenth century, and partly because women were deemed incapable of the mental capacities necessary for friendship, the sharing of intellectual and material property essential to Montaigne's model of true friendship was unavailable to women either in relation to their husbands or with other women. For his part, Montaigne insists that this ideal friendship is only possible between two men of equal station. Partners in marriage are clearly not of the same rank, and he distinguishes friendship between men from male-female relations in marriage: "As for marriage, not only is it a bargain to which only entrance is free, continuance in it being constrained and compulsory, and depending upon other things than our will, but it is a bargain commonly made for other ends" (de Montaigne 95).[94]

Obviously, Montaigne's essay speaks to a particular historical moment and its understanding of marriage as a predominantly economic and political bargain. But even a century later, when Evans and Cheevers set out for Malta at the dawn of the ideology of

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modern adapters such as Tommaso Campanella had to amend to accommodate their Christian framework. For a discussion of the role of religion in Campanella's *City of the Sun*, see John Headley, *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World* (Princeton UP, 1997): 298-314.

[94] Implicit in Montaigne's statements that husband and wife are not free to leave a marriage and that they are unable to be friends is the idea that friendship is always contingent on either party's ability to terminate the relationship at any point. In *The Politics of Friendship*, Jacques Derrida elaborates the relationship between volition, friendship, and democracy. "To be capable of this friendship, to be able to honour in the friend the enemy he can become, is a sign of freedom. Freedom itself. Now this is a freedom that neither tyrants nor slaves know. Therefore, it is a political translation of the axiom. The slave and the tyrant have neither friend nor enemy. They are not free and 'equal' enough for that" (282).

companionate marriage, friendship between men still occupied pride of place over friendship between husband and wife, and certainly over friendship between women.[95]

Montaigne is equally dismissive of female friendship in general as he is of friendship in marriage: "the normal capacity of women is, in fact, unequal to the demands of that communion and intercourse on which the sacred bond is fed; their souls do not seem firm enough to bear the strain of so hard and lasting a tie" (95). Women are both intellectually and materially disqualified from friendship. He laments that this is so; otherwise, men could enjoy both friendship and sexual relations at once: "if the whole man were engaged, then certainly it would be a fuller and more complete friendship" (95). Although he has just allowed that such a friendship would be more complete than that between two men, he immediately dismissed this utopian hope. "But there has never yet been an example of a woman's attaining to this, and the ancient schools are at one in their belief that it is denied to the female sex" (de Montaigne 95). Women, as all his sources agree, lack the firmer faculties upon which friendship depends and are deemed incapable of friendship with men.[96] Men, on the other hand, are so eminently capable of friendship that they naturally value friendship with other men over their marital relationships. The hierarchy of relationships is, however, reversed for women who should

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[95] For a now highly contested discussion of the rise of companionate marriage in the later seventeenth century, see Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, Abridged edition. (New York: Harper, 1977.)

[96] It is perhaps worth noting that in a later essay, "On three kinds of relationships," the essayist chooses the reliable and predictable company of his books over either friendships with men based on intellectual exchange or sexual relationships with women. These latter two kinds of relationship he deems too susceptible to the vicissitudes of human frailty.

put their marital relationships ahead of any other earthly relation. But this is, for the most part, an unspoken dictate.

If friendship between husband and wife was a concept only gaining ground in the late seventeenth century, contemporary male writers often relegated friendship between women to the realm of gossips or parodied women who attempted to claim access to the "higher faculties" upon which friendship depended.[97] In their attempts to excavate the details of early modern Englishwomen's daily lives, Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford discuss some of the difficulties recovering relationships that were built largely on daily, unwritten interactions:

> Most female friendships were based in activities and oral traditions rather than in literary culture.... Moreover, the sources for female friendship are qualitatively different depending on social level, ranging from glimpses of poor women sitting companionably chatting, to literary protestations of love in which one aristocratic woman may refer to her female beloved as 'her dearest husband'. (231)[98]

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[97] The women Collegiates in Jonson's *Epicoene* (1611) provide perhaps the clearest example of women's intellectual relationships with one another being held up to ridicule.

[98] Interestingly, in their Preface, Mendelson and Crawford offer a glimpse at the inner workings of their own collaborative writing:

> Looking at our final script, we can no longer determine which of us was first to have a particular idea or to write a particular phrase, not do we wish to parcel out credit or blame between the two of us. It has truly been a shared project, and as a symbolic expression of our indistinguishable roles—since we cannot superimpose our names on precisely the same spot—we have subverted the hierarchy of the alphabet on the title page. (v)

Not until the end of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century did aristocratic women begin to write passionately about their friendships with other women. Fortunately for us, mid-seventeenth century Quaker women actively cultivated friendships between Convinced women and encouraged those women both to preach and to leave written records of their lives. Evans and Cheevers wrote partly in order to bear witness to their suffering at the hands of Catholics. In so doing, they participate in the active debates between various Protestant sects that characterized England's Civil War years.

But their purpose extends beyond a desire to generate righteous outrage and increase the ideological chasms between Catholic and Protestant, Anglican and Puritan, Baptist and Quaker. As elder women in the community, they also write as examples for fellow believers in their steadfast faith. In one of his notes, Baker offers the following justification for printing Evans and Cheevers's writings:

> It is seen meet that the fore mentioned and following Writings which came from their hands, might appear to publikc [*sic*] view; that thereby every Member of the one Body may have a right understanding; ... of the trials and sufferings in part of these innocent Lambs; but also of the

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Over three hundred years earlier, Evans and Cheevers refused to "parcel out credit or blame" in the face of the Inquisition and seem equally uninterested in which woman's voice is speaking at any one point. Moreover, they too reverse the alphabetization of the women's names on the title page. I point this out not to suggest some putatively transhistorical feminine relationship to collective authorship, although one could make that case. Rather, Mendelson and Crawford's active resistance to the terms of modern authorial subjectivity intrigues me, and I find it most interesting that they engage those individualist terms as scholars of the early modern period.

> consolations of each other as fellow Members of the Infinite Body of which Christ Jesus the Lord is both King and Head. (66-67)

The women echo Baker's rendering as the community of the faithful as members of one body. In a letter addressed to "God's Elect Church in England and Ireland," Evans and Cheevers describe themselves and fellow Convinced Quakers as "We who through the everlasting Mercies of our God, are Members of the same Body" (67). F/friendship means oneness in the body of Christ.

Evans and Cheevers's writing manifests a Quaker and early modern understanding of self in their authorial collaboration, their self-representation as married women, and in their refusal of distinct, easily separable voices. Some of their texts are jointly authored; in these, the two women's voices so thoroughly blend that it remains difficult to discern one from the other. For example, the most confusing example of joint authorship comes in a section called, simply "A Vision," which begins in the first-person singular (Evans), switches to first person-plural, returns to first-person singular (Cheevers), and finishes in first-person plural. Any attempt to determine authorship for each section is undermined by the text itself and by Evans and Cheevers's representation of authorship. As the women explain in one section of "A Vision":

> And we were parted near a year, but great was the Work of the Lord, and great was the Power to carry it on. He was not wanting to us, glory be to his Name; but did give us Words and Wisdom according to our Work: So that Scripture was fulfilled which saith on this wise, *Ye need not premeditate afore-hand what to speak, or what to say; for it shall be given*

> *you of my Heavenly Father what ye ought to speak.* (emphasis in the original 36-37)

They defer to the greater authority of God, speaking through them, and in so doing counter the temporal authority of the Inquisition. Their self-representation as collaborative authors whose ultimate authority rests not with either woman, or even with both women acting as a unit also speaks to specifics of early modern authorship: they are not individual authors of the written word as we understand it.

Collaborative authorship, especially when the writers are the same sex, causes enormous anxiety in modern readers trained to think of authors as stable, discrete generators of original texts. These are terms that would have been nonsense to Evans and Cheevers. In his discussion of the changing representations of early modern dramatic collaboration, Jeff Masten locates the beginnings of a movement toward an emphasis on a sole creator in the seventeenth century and describes this movement as "a shift in the printed and performative apparatus of drama away from homoerotic collaboration and toward singular authorship on a patriarchal-absolutist model" (282). Masten notes "the tenuousness in a collaborative paradigm of borders between what we now call 'individuals,'" and finds that

> collaborative texts and texts figuring collaboration often slip easily between identities, frustrating modern attempts to discern separate authors, divergent persons, or distinct characters. The authorial paradigm with which we are more familiar, of course, depends upon the construction and policing of the borders of personhood. (298)

In Evans and Cheevers's writing, the rhetoric of companionate marriage blends with collaborative authorship in a manner that defies the binary logic of self/other, author/text, (or, more particularly, individual author/original text). This fusion, I would add, also belies the definitional distinction between straight/lesbian. To characterize Evans and Cheevers's relationship as "lesbian" is to map post-Enlightenment understandings of clear boundaries between categories or individuals onto an earlier period. To try to sort out which of the women is speaking at any one point—and this is a frustrated project—is to ask the wrong question, a question that might have been incomprehensible to Evans and Cheevers, especially given their self-representation as speaking with one voice. Theirs is a travelling partnership and authorial collaboration about which multiple unstable readings circulate. According to Foucault, the "author is … the ideological figure by which one marks the manner in which we fear the proliferation of meaning" (119). The various responses to Evans and Cheevers's texts that locate their relationship in modern terms implicitly invoke precisely such an understanding of the author. Theirs is an inherently collaborative process between believers, of which they and Baker are all parts. Even when it is clear which one of the women writes at any one time, what they write subverts any claims to individuality. "When we were separated," writes Cheevers at the end of their joint Vision, "we spake one and the same thing, being guided by one Spirit. They would go from me to Catherine, they could bid her *speak as Sarah did*; and so she did to their condemnation" (39). Physically apart, the women remain linguistically identified and uncorrupted; theirs is a semiotic interdependence.[99]

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[99] In Phyllis Mack's terms, the women transcend self-other boundaries and achieve the type of community idealized by Quakers (Mack).

Evans and Cheevers frustrate modern readers' attempts to contain the troubling terms of their relationship but, more to the point for the captive women, their fusion of voice offers their most effective strategy for resisting the Inquisitors. In addition, the combination of their authorial collaboration and invocation of marriage vows offers evidence of a particular understanding of Quaker women's friendship. For Quaker women, marriage is an institution over which they expect to exercise control, and their social influence works to create a network of relations among them. When Evans and Cheevers invoke wedding vows while fighting to remain together in one cell, they obviously expect their captors to respect their control over the terms of marriage and to respect the relationship between the women that that control creates. In the wider early modern culture, marriage was the only model available to early modern women for understanding adult relationships. While there are countless conduct books schooling women in appropriate behavior in marriage, there is little written about relationships between women. Men's conduct manuals are deeply invested in detailing appropriate relationships between male friends. Richard Braithwait's *The English Gentleman* (1630), for example, dedicates an entire chapter to the topic. His companion volume, *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), on the other hand, emphasizes schooling women how to be and seem virtuous in their relations with men. As a result, marriage offered one of the very few available metaphors for early modern women's friendship. And this metaphor took on specific resonances for Puritan sects, such as Quakers.

Intense emotional bonds, such as those between Evans and Cheevers, were not uncommon in conversion narratives of the period, and they occurred between believers of

the same or opposite sex.[100] The question remains, however, of how to respond to Evans' performance of a portion of the marriage service, especially as it comes as part of the dispute with the Inquisitors about whether the two women can remain together in the same cell. "The Lord hath joined us together, and wo be to them that should part us," says Evans who would apparently—like the bride and groom who vow "till death do us part"—"rather chuse to dye there with my friend, than to part from her." The editors of *Her Own Life* include a section of Evans and Cheevers's text and gloss Evans appeal to marital discourse as "indicating that the women saw their relationship as a married one. It was, perhaps, a lesbian relationship" (Graham 130). Certainly, the two women refer to each other as "yoke-fellow" or "yoke-mate" repeatedly, at one point extending the phrase to "my dearly beloved Yoke-Mate" (77). But to term them "lesbian" assumes both that if a woman invokes marriage with respect to another woman, this necessarily implies a sexual relationship, and also that there is a transhistorical category "lesbian" which can simply be applied to women of earlier periods. Both are large assumptions.[101] Terms of passionate address were far from uncommon, and the women address Baker in similar terms. In one letter Evans and Cheevers praise Baker for his efforts on their behalf:

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[100] Sarah Davy, for example, relates a similarly intense friendship in her conversion narrative, *Heaven Realized*, London 1670.

[101] Even if the women's relationship were sexual, they would not have understood themselves as lesbian. Nor, however, would they have considered themselves heterosexual. Following Foucault, sex practices do not come to constitute putatively stable sexual identities until much after the seventeenth century. Prior to the formation of sexual identities, all humankind was understood to be equally susceptible to homosexual acts. See *The History of Sexuality, Volume I* (New York, Vintage: 1978).

> Oh Thou tender-hearted one, whom our God and our Eternal Father hath sent to relieve us … Oh my dear, precious and endeared one! Thou meek Lamb, thou innocent Dove, who dost bear the likeness, beauty and brightness of that unspotted one that is come in the Volume of the Book to do the Will of God: We can give in our Testimony for thee, that thou camest here in the Power and Authority of the Most High. (76)

The eroticized mode of address is linked to the F/friends' shared subjection to the will of God, to a shared experience of worldly persecution, and to their membership in a body of the faithful.

In an examination of the connections between Puritan writings and seventeenth-century understandings of the relationship between property and the legitimate subjecthood of political franchise, Rosemary Kegl offers a highly nuanced reading of Evans and Cheevers's use of the rhetoric of mutuality and companionate marriage. Of the narrative voice of the *Short Relation*, Kegl remarks, "Evans and Cheevers draw upon the language of mutuality to describe the bond produced by this 'yoke' of suffering" (69). "In part," she continues, "the blurring of Evans and Cheevers's voices grants authority to the women's preaching and writing by emphasizing that they are one in God," that they "receive, independently, a single set of divine instructions" (Kegl 70). Like the seventy-two translators of the Septuagint who, working independently of one another, arrive at identical translations, Evans and Cheevers's identical responses to questions even when separated, proves that God speaks through them. Certainly, this is how the women demonstrate the truth of what they say to their audience. But this identity of voice also resonates with contemporary understandings of

marriage that are, as Kegl points out, always related to property relations. "The blurring of the women's voices," Kegl maintains,

> and the at times apparently illogical substitution of one woman for another suggests not that Evans and Chevers are identical or interchangeable but, instead, that their relative access to authority is shifting and unstable. Thus these women solemnize a marriage whose 'yoke' is an ongoing process. In other words, its burden is to acknowledge the partners' mutual affection and mutual authority *not only* during the initial marriage contract but also during the subsequent, daily practices of married life. (70)

Kegl resists "suggesting that the *Short Relation* offers a blueprint for some sort of ideal marriage" but argues instead "that this model unsettles the logic of companionate marriages—a logic which helped to construct the range of women's possible economic, political, and sexual identities" (70). Kegl is primarily interested in the ways in which companionate marriage, as read through the discourse of absolute property, structures women's political and economic identities, and mentions sexual identities only in passing. Her analysis of Evans and Cheevers suggests that Quaker women, and possibly all women from religious sects that mobilized critiques of social inequality, developed strategies of critique of dominant patriarchal models, including the then newly evolving idea of marriage as a companionate relationship, in conjunction with their critiques of property relations.

In addition to their lived critique of hierarchical marriage relations, there is at least one further reason Evans and Cheevers might invoke marriage while fighting to control their own living arrangement. As Quaker women, they expect to exert control

over marriage. Moreover, Quakers understood marriage as a relationship beyond temporal intervention. In his published tracts on marriage, George Fox urges a "return" to Edenic ideals of marriage. In response to questions about the status of marriage, whether it be an Ordinance of God (the phrase Evans and Cheevers use during their interrogation) or a thing of the world, Fox answers, "Friend, concerning Marriage, to know it as it was before man fell, which were *both in the image of God*, that is the state out of the fall again of Gods joyning, not as man joyns, but as God joyns; not joyned by the Laws of men, but by the Power of God" (Fox 1663, 2, emphasis added). Integral to his argument that man does not marry betrothed couples, but rather that God marries them to one another, is the insistence that, before the fall, both parties in marriage were equally made in the image of God. The status of Quaker marriage, therefore, allows for a radical revisioning of hierarchical relations with marriage and, by extension, a revisioning of the presumed hierarchy among relationships. For one thing, the careful defense of separate Women's Meetings meant that marriage was not the only relationship detailed. Even in its utopian, Quaker formulation, however, marriage was still the model for all relationships among women.

What this means is that Evans and Cheevers's marriage vows cannot be read as easy proof of an erotically charged friendship. In addition, the women's performance of marriage vows remains invisible over several editions; that invisibility to generations of readers suggests that neither they nor their readers were moved to censor the terms of the women's F/friendship.[102] Rather, I suggest, the defining features of their friendship are

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[102] Any potential same-sex eroticism, particularly between married women such as Evans and Cheevers, remains illegible. For a discussion of the "invisibility" of same-sex desiring relations between women in

collaborative authorship, membership in a network of women ministers, and an self-representation of speaking with one voice and belonging to one, collective body in faith. Such a focus, I hope, circumvents the sanitizing discourse of "intense emotional bonds" between women as well as the equally limiting salacious interest in Quaker and Puritan purported sexual antics.[103] Here, I navigate the line between those twin failings in favor of an examination of the terms of their relationship mobilized by Evans and Cheevers in their specific historical and cultural contexts. While I neither argue for or against a sexual relationship between Evans and Cheevers, I insist that to read their shared voice and their invocation of marriage vows only as evidence of a "lesbian" relationship is, at least in part, to downplay their agency as (female) travelers, wily survivors, and missionaries.

Even more than companionate friendship within marriage, female F/friendship outside of marriage, especially when figured as a marital relationship itself, actively undermines the hierarchical relationship between husband and wife. Even more importantly for Evans and Cheevers, their relationship with one another challenges the presumed hierarchy among relationships that places male-male friendship above marriage for men and marriage above female friendship for women. For Quakers, friendship between believers of either sex neither negates nor supercedes marital relationships, but

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this period, see Valerie Traub's "The (In)Significance of 'Lesbian' Desire in Early Modern England." *Queering the Renaissance*. Jonathan Goldberg, ed. Durham and London: Duke UP, 1994: 62-83; and Jonathan Goldberg's attempt to make those desires visible to modern readers, *Desiring Women Writing*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997.

[103] Charges of sexual impropriety, for example, were often levelled at groups and individuals, such as John of Leyden and the Ranters, that challenged individual property ownership. At a time when a man's wife was part of his property, to give up rights to property translated into easily mocked wife-sharing.

almost transcends them. It is not that the women see their relationship as better than or even equivalent to, marriage but, rather, the other way around. They actively refuse to accept that their relationship is secondary to their respective marital relationships. Rather, their travelling F/friendship demonstrates a more thorough-going, daily intimacy, a socially pervasive—and eroticized—sense of interconnectedness and interdependence that cannot, I maintain, be simply grafted onto modern understandings of sexual relationships, straight or gay. These bonds speak to a daily, unindividuated eroticism manifest, partly, in pervasive literary collaboration and, for Quaker women, in travelling ministerial partnerships and communal responsibility for marriage.

Chapter 4: Writing Captivity, Producing "Rescue": Mary Rowlandson and Pocahontas

Like the ones before it, this final chapter interrogates race, sex, and nation as they pertain to early modern female authority and authorship. In many ways, this chapter returns to the original design and intent of this dissertation: to examine early modern women's writings of actual or imagined contact with the "Other" in the context of nascent early modern discourses of national and racial membership, paying particular attention to the mechanisms by which these discourses also sexualize the bodies they describe. To that end, this chapter analyzes some of the machinations of colonial complicity and resistance in writings by and about women in the New World. Specifically, I examine the captivity/rescue dialectic as it pertains to the lives of Pocahontas, an "Indian princess" captured by colonists and converted to Christianity, and Mary Rowlandson, a New England Puritan who, in 1682, published a narrative of her own captivity. In the parlance of the day, Rowlandson is captured by and then rescued from Indians. Pocahontas, on the other hand, is presumed saved, both by her Christian conversion and her "rescue" from her own people. Each woman's narrative is underwritten by European settlers' assumptions of native treachery and inscrutability. Moreover, both Rowlandson and the English men who write about Pocahontas invoke several competing and unevenly developed axes of social differentiation to suggest a sexualized and increasingly colour-coded understanding of the "ideal" nation.

In many other, important ways, however, this chapter diverges from the earlier chapters, all of which focused on women who wrote during the political and religious turmoil of mid-seventeenth-century England. First, both Pocahontas and Rowlandson,

both residents of the New World for much of their respective lives, stand in contested relation to "English" citizenship.[104] Indeed, as with perhaps all early modern subjects, each woman's national membership is highly unstable. That instability, however, is uneven. It applies disproportionately to members of differing social stations, countries of birth, and genders in general, and in particular to Rowlandson and Pocahontas. For one thing, Rowlandson was born in England, and she and her mother followed her father to New England when she was about three years old. Although Rowlandson went on to become the prototypical American "goodwife" upon which burgeoning American national identity depended, she did not achieve her vaunted position without considerable textual and corporeal manoeuvring. As the daughter of Indian chief Powhatan, Pocahontas, on the other hand, held considerable status in her own (unrecognized) nation. At quite a young age, however, she befriended Captain John Smith, learned English, and became a mediator between her father/her people and the English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, now North Carolina. As my reading of the textual traces of her life will suggest, many of Pocahontas' actions as go-between compromised her membership among the Powhatan. Her conversion to Christianity, marriage to John Rolfe and

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[104] Although, as Liah Greenfeld argues, early American colonists saw themselves as "English," that marker signifying full franchise pertained most directly to male colonists. For their part, New English men were convinced that they embodied the ideals of the English nation more fully than their counterparts on the motherland, as franchise extended beyond the aristocracy (399-422).

subsequent migration to England at the end of her brief life, I will argue, throw her national membership into further crisis.[105]

Temporal differences also underwrite differing geographical locations and strategies for negotiating national discourses among the women I discuss in this and preceding chapters. Pocahontas lived and died several decades before the other women examined in this study. For her part, Rowlandson left England as a child, before the Civil War years, and wrote her narrative considerably after the political upheaval of the Interregnum, which played such an important role in shaping and inspiring the writings of Cavendish, Cary, and Evans and Cheevers. If it is a stretch to make Pocahontas speak to Rowlandson, who wrote more than seventy years after the death of the "Indian Princess," then it is even more of a stretch to ask that two "American" women—one native, one settler—speak to four English women whose lives occupied roughly the decades between their lives and who lived on the other side of the Atlantic. However, I maintain that such a dialogue across geographical space, political milieu, and time reveals some of the aporias in discussions about early modern race and gender read through images of the New World.

Pocahontas's biography is the stuff of myth. She was the daughter of a Powhatan chief and became an intermediary between her people and the English settlers at Jamestown. To prevent their starvation, and perhaps with the blessing of her father, Pocahontas

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[105] Pocahontas's partial access to literacy—the necessary reading for conversion without necessarily learning to write—stands as a metaphor for partial franchise. This partial literacy was the norm for many women and men of the period, who might also be said to have only partial franchise.

brought food to the beleaguered settlers during the long winter months of 1608. She was probably twelve or thirteen years old at the time, and Captain John Smith was the suspect leader of the outpost. Held in contempt by many of his own people, he was finally arrested on mutiny charges and returned to England in 1609 after suffering gunpowder burns in an accident.[106]

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[106] What we know of Pocahontas's life is gleaned from the various documents collected in Ralph Hamor's *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London, 1615), which was published after his return to England, and from various entries in John Smith's writings. In addition to his own brief report, Hamor includes letters from Thomas Dale, the colony's governor, Alex Whitaker, the minister who oversaw Pocahontas's conversion, and John Rolfe, Pocahontas's husband. These letters serve primarily to ensure the reader that Rolfe's intentions were honest, that Pocahontas's conversion genuine, and to insist that any credit for all these events rightfully belongs to Governor Dale. Taken together, they confirm the possibility of the colonists effecting Indian conversion, one of the professed goals of plantation. As such however, they need to be read with caution and in conjunction with documents such as Hariot's *Report* and Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Planting* that encourage conversion. Moreover, Hamor's own narrative provides details of often violent interactions with Indigenous inhabitants and of the highly questionable circumstances of Pocahontas's capture. His narrative stands in tension with the representation of Pocahontas's desires articulated by Dale's, Whitaker's and Rolfe's respective letters.

John Smith's documents are at once more numerous and more complex in their representation of Pocahontas. In his *True Relation* (1608), *A Map of Virginia* (1612), and *Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia* (1612) all published shortly after his return to England, he makes little mention of Pocahontas when he discusses his interactions with Powhatan, her father. After Pocahontas's celebrated visit to London and after her death, however, Smith includes in his *Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624) the moving and famed story of his rescue by Pocahontas from imminent death at the hands of Powhatan. See Karen Roberston's "Pocahontas at the Masque" for an important analysis of the timing of Smith's revisionary history.

Unlike the Disney version of her life, however, Pocahontas's story doesn't end with Smith's departure from Jamestown. In 1613, several years after Smith's departure, Samuel Argall, an English ship's captain who made several voyages to Jamestown bringing supplies to the beleaguered colony and, while he visited, conducted "exploratory" missions inland, arranged for Pocahontas's kidnap with the intention of using her as a hostage in negotiations with the Powhatan. According to Ralph Hamor's 1615 report on the colony, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*, Pocahontas was happy to renew her acquaintance with the English. During her stay at the Jamestown settlement, she converted to Christianity and married an enterprising colonist, the future tobacco planter John Rolfe. With Rolfe and their son, Thomas, Pocahontas travelled to England in 1618, where, as the daughter of a king, she was entertained at court.[107] Before the Rolfes could return to Virginia, however, Pocahontas fell ill and died. Rolfe left their son with relatives in England and returned to his successful plantation.

The relationship between Pocahontas and John Smith, along with many other details of her life, is the subject of debate. During her English visit and tour, Smith arranged to see her. By all accounts she was surprised to see him, but it remains unclear whether she was angry with him for betraying her father's favour toward him or, as the advocates of the romance plot would have it, because she was in love with him.[108] In any

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[107] John Rolfe's social status, however, prevented him from being invited to court along with his wife. Any hopes he may have harboured for improving his social standing through her are thwarted. As with Cavendish, aristocracy almost transcends racial and religious differences.

[108] Disney's *Pocahontas* avoids many of the difficulties Pocahontas's life presents to modern audiences by ending the narrative with Smith's departure from Virginia. This has the advantage of omitting the troubling

case, Smith's various histories give most of the known details of Pocahontas's life. His renderings of events, however, change over time. After, her "successful" visit to England and her death, Smith saw fit to include, belatedly, in his *Generall History* (1624) the story upon which the myth of Pocahontas rests: that she rescued him from imminent murder at the hands of her people. That story, however, is completely absent from his 1608 account of their relationship.

Geographically, the trajectory of Mary Rowlandson's life moves in the opposite direction of Pocahontas's, from England to Virginia. Rowlandson was born Mary White in Somerset, England, in 1636. In 1639, her family followed her father, John White, to Massachusetts, where he had emigrated a year earlier. She married Joseph Rowlandson in 1656 and they settled in Lancaster, the village outside Boston in which she had grown up. As part of the land dispute between colonists and native inhabitants of the colony, known as King Philip's War, Lancaster was attacked on February 10, 1676. Rowlandson and her three children were taken into captivity amongst the Narragansett. Rowlandson spent eleven weeks and five days with her Indian captors before being rescued. Like the Jamestown Massacre of 1622, King Philip's War marked a turning point in relations between natives and settlers. In 1622, Powhatans killed 350 settlers at Jamestown, an

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details of her kidnap, conversion, and death in a foreign country. Instead, the animated version of her life suggests a blossoming romance between native princess and a rather sensitive, new-age explorer. The movie glosses over the age difference between Pocahontas and Smith by depicting her as a buxom young woman, much older than twelve or thirteen. For those who accept Pocahontas's mythologized romance with Smith, her subsequent marriage to Rolfe can only be accounted for by feigned news of Smith's death and explains Pocahontas's distress when she finally re-encounters her "true love" in England.

event that, Robertson argues, suddenly makes Pocahontas's "rescue" of Smith intelligible and may account for its belated first publication in 1624, fifteen years after his departure from Virginia (Robertson 555ff). Contrary to Thomas Hariot's advertisement for plantation, *A Brief and True Report of the new found land of Virginia* (1588), that represented the indigenous inhabitants as peaceable, three decades later they become a physical threat to the settlers and that threat justifies their extermination.[109] Both King Philip's War and the Jamestown Massacre mark a change in relations between colonists and natives that was to the disadvantage of the land's first inhabitants.

Like Cavendish's secular convent plays, Rowlandson and Pocahontas's respective stories articulate "safe" enclosed spaces, in opposition to the unstable, nomadic danger of the "wilderness." Although the "American" narratives differ from the plays in that they find safety within the bounds of the patriarchal, Christian home—precisely that which Cavendish's heroines attempt to escape—that position of presumed safety and stability is the source of whatever authority accrues to either Rowlandson or Pocahontas. Rowlandson's rescue from "Indian captivity" and her return to the confines of a patriarchal home is the necessary condition for her access to a public audience. Her status as "goodwife" renders her narrative intelligible. Pocahontas, on the other had, necessarily

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[109] Prior to those two squirmishes, as Greenfeld notes, "commendations of New England's abundance and felicity" abounded even in the face of the real threats of starvation in the new colony. "The allegedly wholesome and plentiful natural resources of the new continent," she explains, " were a subject of constant celebration" (Greenfeld 407).

retires into appropriately modest silence. Her "rescue" (kidnap) and Christian conversion is secured by her physical and literary constraint.[110]

After her return from Indian captivity, Rowlandson penned and published her narrative from the sanctity of her carefully reconstructed patriarchal home. As Margaret Davis argues, Rowlandson takes pains to represent herself as the archetypal Puritan "goodwife" who patiently awaits rescue rather than actively fleeing from her captors (Davis). In fact, during her captivity, Rowlandson rejects an opportunity to escape. As she recalls after her release, "In my Travels an *Indian* came to me, and told me, if I were willing, he and his Squaw would run away, and go home along with me. I told him, No, I was not willing to run away, but desired to wait God's time, that I might go home quietly, and without fear" (Rowlandson 43). Her self-representation as a passive instrument of God who must await rescue by temporal forces, in conjunction with her physical resumption of her role as wife, constitutes her authorial subjectivity. Rowlandson's willingness to escape, or rather its absence, is the crucial concept here. Early modern women's chastity in public actions and in print requires the perpetual construction of their *un*willingness. The narrative's introductory frame, by Increase Mather, also carefully insists upon Rowlandson's reluctance to enter the public realm of print. That very reluctance, however, like her active passivity in captivity, is integral to her self-representation as a Christian woman and, simultaneously, enables her literary production.

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[110] As Robertson argues, however, "though unequipped to produce a written narrative of her own, [Pocahontas] leaves a record in which European men comment on her eyes and her bearing—both undisciplined in the normative postures of European women—and, most significantly, her silence" (556).

Pocahontas, on the other hand, achieves no equivalent access to authorial subjectivity. As far as we know, she leaves no archival traces in her own "voice"; she does not write but is only ever written about, in texts by John Smith, John Rolfe, and Raphe Hamor. This lack of authorial voice can be accounted for in part by her Christian education, in which she was likely taught to read but not to write. Certainly, reading and writing were taught separately in the period, but only reading would have been deemed an essential part of the (Protestant) conversion such as Reverend Alex Whitaker, Jamestown's minister at the time of her capture, oversaw for Pocahontas. Here, I do not mean to imply that if we had or found documents written by Pocahontas that we might be able to know the truth about her and her desires. Any such documents would, of course, be subject to their own unstable, (hyper)productive readings and would always be implicated in (gendered) power-knowledge nexi. That lack, however, necessitates different reading strategies, strategies attentive to the history of European productions of native difference.

As with Cary, religion—not "race"—is the primary axis for marking social differences between individuals in Rowlandson's narrative. A modern sense of racial difference is almost completely absent from Rowlandson's writing, is indeed perhaps unavailable to her as an author. As Kim Hall (1995) argues, however, the associations between whiteness and purity and blackness and evil arrive in English literature contemporaneous with the development of the slave trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When Rowlandson does refer to the "blackness" of her native captors, the reference primarily indicates their sinfulness. On the first night of her capture, for example, King Philip's men celebrate their victory. "This was the dolefullest

night that ever my eyes saw," laments Rowlandson. "[O]h the roaring, and singing, and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell" (12). Such a symbolic economy, of course, produces Rowlandson as white and pure. On the axis of religious difference upon which her narrative turns, however, Christian Indians do not receive the same treatment as their European religious counterparts. Rather, they occupy a space somewhere between a hybrid and a paradox. Rowlandson, for example, marks a significant difference between the hospitality she receives from fellow European Christians and even "Praying Indians." With the latter, her suspicion of duplicity is palpable and renders the numerous kindnesses extended to her by her captors illegible as hospitality. Rowlandson frequently associates kindnesses extended to her by individual natives as proof of God's mercy toward her.[111] Similarly, the much needed food that Pocahontas brings to the Jamestown settlers is always presumed to be against her father's wishes and the actions of a dissenting individual rather than evidence of widespread compassion. In each case, the possibility that the settlers are beholden to their native hosts for hospitality is cause for considerable anxiety.

Rowlandson and Pocahontas offer two examples of early modern women who crossed cultures. Each woman enters what Mary Louise Pratt calls a "contact zone": "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually

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[111] Christopher Castiglia finds that Rowlandson later comes to recognize that her captors treat her with kindness. He locates her entry into trade relations with the Narragansetts as a turning point in her narrative and suggests that the refusal to see the natives as fully human in their dealings with Rowlandson rests mostly with Mather and the presumed audience (Castiglia 45-52).

involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (6). Although both women experience coercion and neither one's movement across cultures is freely chosen, their respective places in the symbolic economy are radically unequal. After her release, Rowlandson avails herself of precisely the images that provide the ideological conditions of English conquest of the New World: Sodom, Exodus, and a burgeoning understanding that racial classifications based upon physical features surpass religious affiliation, particularly once the natives begin to convert. As a Christian convert, Pocahontas's position in an economy centred on religion—and, to a lesser extent, race—ensures her own liminality, a liminality partially illustrated by Rowlandson's rejection of "Praying Indians."

This chapter locates captivity narratives in the history of early modern travels and pilgrimages. With the advance of the Reformation, those journeys became increasingly inward, spiritual journeys that subsumed details of time and place into Biblical metaphor.[112] In addition, New England Puritan writing depends upon one Biblical metaphor in particular: the opposition between Sodom (the old world) and Sion. The City on the Hill image beloved of New England Puritans is secured by repeated rejection of Sodom. In addition to her frequent recourse to psalms that refer to the Israelites'

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[112] This interiority stands in conflict with what Pratt describes as Europe's increasing "planetary consciousness" that motivated interior exploration of "new-found" continents (15-37). What interests me, however, about the movement inward is the way it erases the specificities of time and place visited in a way that may also facilitate interior exploration. Indeed, such an orientation may well work in conjunction with "planetary consciousness" to allow the illusion that there is no one and nothing in the interior that would impede advancing colonization.

subjection in Egypt, Rowlandson is constantly aware of the danger of looking backward toward her home and, by extension, becoming Lot's wife.[113] Her (re)citation of the injunction against Lot's wife, and the inhabitants of the cities on the plain, Sodom and Gomorrah, locates her within a specific relationship to burgeoning New World nation formation predicated upon the rejection of England as Sodom. In her narrative that is devoid of details of historical time and place, Rowlandson conflates the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah with Israelites' bondage and liberation. The latter are images that resonate throughout Indian Captivity narratives and the American Revolution. By association with stories of the return of God's favour to his people after enduring a period of hardship and testing, Rowlandson gains access to print and a public audience. Her careful deployment of these images also secures her own authorial subjectivity.[114] No

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[113] In *Pilgrim's Progress*, published the year before Rowlandson's narrative, the punishment of Lot's wife and its visible manifestation—the pillar of salt—offer a disciplinary example, a negative model set-up for disavowal. "True," claims Hopeful, "she may be to us both a caution, and example; caution that we should shun her sin, or a sign of what judgment will overtake such as shall not be prevented by this caution" (96). The invocation to "Remember Lot's Wife" is a disciplinary technology integral to the production of self-surveilling Puritan subjects.

[114] My analysis here is not meant to rule out the possibility that Rowlandson also manages to launch a subtle critique of early modern women's economic position by portraying her life amongst the Narragansett as quite tolerable once she entered into trade relations with her captors and learned that her sewing skills were valued. As Christopher Castiglia puts it, "Rowlandson transforms herself from an object of exchange in a trade conducted between men (the Indians and the British haggle over Rowlandson's 'worth' in terms of tobacco and firearms) to an agent of exchange" (Castiglia 47).

such images are available to Pocahontas. Instead, she becomes a figure available for representation by the men who came into contact with her.

Captivity and Early Modern Travel Narratives

According to critics such as Mary Campbell and Kim Hall, early modern European travel writing and its medieval antecedents are among the ideological conditions of possibility for conquest and form part of the literary precursors of captivity narratives such as Rowlandson's. Like Evans and Cheevers's travel and prison narrative, however, European travel narratives began as records of pilgrimages. As Campbell argues, "Christianity is in fact the first Western religion in which the sacred territory is located emphatically Elsewhere. As a result, Christian pilgrimages are the first to lead pilgrims abroad on their religious travels" (18). Although Jerusalem was the destination of choice for Christian pilgrims, the itinerary of the desired journey changed over time in response to contemporary political realities. "The shift from Jerusalem to European destinations was a result of the Islamic conquest of the Holy Land, " Campbell notes (31).[115] Christian pilgrimage shrank further with the Reformation to become a largely internal, spiritual journey.

This ideology of the primacy of the inner journey dominates Rowlandson's narrative. Even though she is physically removed from home, Rowlandson's pilgrimage

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[115] "'When access to the Holy Places was blocked for a time by Islam, there developed a tendency to 'reduplicate' the Palestinian shrines in the Christian countries of Europe, either by imitation or through claim to a direct, supernatural translation of material relics from Palestine'" (Turner, cited in Campbell 31-32).

is primarily spiritual rather than physical. She relates a series of twenty "removes" from one unnamed site to another, crossing unnamed rivers. Her use of the term "remove" for each stage of her journey links her captivity with the Puritan migration from England and, hence, the rejection of Sodom/London.[116] The elevation of her spiritual journey over the baser Indian physical journey may, of course, be a requirement of publication but is resonant nonetheless. As with other actual journeys rendered in spiritual terms, her series of "removes", however, does overlap with earlier, physical/geographic pilgrimages. As Campbell notes:

> A pilgrimage is of course a spiritual journey as well, but it is a repetition, a reenactment, and the pilgrim's involvement with the profane and actual world through which he travels is not only unimportant but sinful. He only seems to be in Palestine; to the extent that he is a pilgrim, he is in the Holy Land, whose nature is fixed and known.. [The pilgrimage] is so little dependent on the experience of difference offered by travel that it could be and, in the later Middle Ages, often was performed by proxy, or by wandering an equivalent distance in a maze. (Campbell 116)

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[116] The early colonists frequently referred to their migration as a removal. After a brief time in exile on the continent, groups of Puritans began the trans-Atlantic crossing. As Cotton Mather explains, they "had not been very long at *Leyden* before they found themselves encountered with many Inconvenienceies … they were very loth to lose their Interest in the *English Nation*; but were desirous rather to enlarge their *King's Dominions*. These *Reasons* were deeply considered … and … they took up a *Resolution* … to REMOVE into AMERICA" (cited in Greenfeld 405). I consider that removal as a rejection of Sodom in what follows.

As a result of the relative unimportance of the place visited—at least in the minds of the travellers themselves—Christian pilgrims did not offer the dizzying catalogue of wonders Campbell finds in much European travel writing.[117] In fact, historically and geographically specific detail is often elided in the place of Biblical description. Like Cary and Evans and Cheevers, both Rowlandson's and Pocahontas's stories are subservient to a Biblical narrative, though Rowlandson's more explicitly so than Pocahontas's. Rowlandson, like Cary, also frequently identifies with the Israelites in Egypt or, like the Quaker women held captive by the Inquisition at Malta, as Daniel in the lion's den.[118] In part, such subservience speaks to a peculiarly early modern reading

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[117] Although all Christian pilgrims downplayed the importance of local specificities, Puritan and Quaker travel writers, in particular, relied upon Scriptural metaphor at the expense of descriptions of places visited and people encountered. Indeed, as Susan Wiseman argues, "the co-option of any physical landscape to purely spiritual significance distinguishes a particular Quaker mode of recounting stories of traveling and preaching in the second half of the seventeenth century" (156). The "Bible was their map," she continues, "their guide to foreign cultures, and above all, their phrase book providing a significant and overdetermined vocabulary with which to respond to all encounters" (Wiseman 155). Quaker preachers such as Barbara Blaugdone could undertake journeys "with no map but God's inner light to guide her" (Wiseman 156).

[118] The sense of nationhood in exile that is later subtended by association with the Israelites remains perhaps latent but certainly undeveloped in Rowlandson's writing. As several recent studies suggest, the nationalist sentiments of Rowlandson's narrative became useful to the advocates of independence from England. See, for example, Greg Sieminski's "The Puritan Captivity and the Politics of the American Revolution," *American Quarterly*. 42:1 (March 1990): 35-56; Michelle Burnham's *Captivity and Sentiment*. (University Press of New England, 1997); and Dawn Henwood's "Mary Rowlandson and the Psalms: The Textuality of Survival," *Early American Literature*. 32:2 (1997): 169-86. Sieminski examines the uses to which Rowlandson's narrative was put between 1770 and 1776 and makes the connection

practice that blurs the distinction between past Biblical events and the present, and speaks to an understanding of temporality radically different from that of the present day. Throughout her narrative, for example, Rowlandson carefully insists that she is always, in some sense, in a Biblical setting. As a result, there is little in the way of detailed, proto-anthropological descriptions of people and places. The wilderness is a generic wilderness that, despite its wintry cold, bears more similarities with the Israelites' tenure in the desert than with the American landscape as early explorers and advocates of colonial plantation described it.[119]

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between Exodus, Puritan release from Indian captivity, and the American Revolution explicit. "During the Revolutionary era," he explains, "the colonists began to see themselves as captives of a tyrant rather than as subjects of a king" (36). Moreover, "[t]he colonists also found the final stage of the captivity experience a suitable expression of their growing sense of national identity and purpose." Like the Israelites before them, "God granted the Puritan captives their freedom because they had repented and had successfully endured testing" (Sieminski 45). For her part, Henwood examines Rowlandson's use of the psalms that recall the Exodus.

[119] In his *Brief and true Report of the New Found Land in Virginia* (1588), for example, Thomas Hariot provides a catalogue of saleable commodities, available foods, and building supplies available in Virginia. His explicit intent is to portray Virginia as habitable and, with Walter Ralegh's blessing, to encourage English plantation there. The third and final section of the *Report* contains a brief section on the indigenous inhabitants. The primary goal of this section, however, is to assure his readers that "they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared; but that they shall have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them" (Hariot E1v). He offers the official proselytising cover for what is avowedly an economic mission:

> In respect of us they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before thinges of greater value:

Subservience to a Biblical narrative also obscures historical details. The details of King Philip's War, for example, are notably absent from Rowlandson's narrative. In her "Preface to the Reader," she insists that "the causeless enmity of these *Barbarians* against the *English*" was the product of "the malicious and revengeful spirit of these Heathens" (Rowlandson 5). Despite the fact that she meets the native chief known as King Philip and has numerous interactions with his wives and servants during her captivity, and thus might have known at least rudimentary details of their complaints, Rowlandson all but erases the specificities of the dispute. Indeed, like many Puritan writers' travel narratives, historical details in Rowlandson's narrative are secondary to Biblical associations and references; the account is cast in terms of the soul's struggle against evil. In this respect, Rowlandson's narrative is similar to Evans and Chever's prison writings. In neither case are readers provided with detailed descriptions. Both, further, are written as inspiration for a presumed audience of fellow believers.

At what would seem to be the other end of the spectrum, Kim Hall finds that early modern European explorers to Africa press their never-neutral descriptions of places and people into the service of conquest and colonial expansion:

> Notwithstanding in their proper manner considering the want of such meanes as we have, they seeme very ingenious … they upon due consideration shall finde our manner of knowledges and craftes to exceede theirs in perfection … the more is it probable that they should desire our friendships & love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may be hoped if meanes of good government bee used, that they may in short time be brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true religion. (E2v)

> Although attempts by authors of travel narratives to catalog, describe, and contain African difference may not at first glance seem to be overtly Western imperialist moves, such concerns do later come to influence the actual commodification of Africa. ... On the surface, these narratives are intended to be informative, to 'shed light' on previously obscure material. They also have the secondary purpose of developing a sense of English identity: allowing English readers to know themselves by seeing others. Insofar as these narratives are also intended to bolster curiosity and future exploration and investment, they seduce the reader into imperialism. (Hall 59)

Unlike early European writers on Africa such as those discussed by Kim Hall (25-61), Hariot actively counsels plantation in the land he describes in his *Brief Report*. In his description of the land, however, he deploys similar strategies outlined by Hall above, thus participates in the project of "commodification" she finds in contemporary descriptions of Africa. It might be easy to assume that, as American captivity narratives do not deploy the descriptive strategies that Hall deems integral to both latent and active colonial expansion, they do not participate in that project. I contend here, however, that they do—but with recourse to very different discursive strategies.

The various genres that describe contact between Old and New World subjects—exploration travel writing, written pilgrimages, and captivity narratives—are linked through their participation in the construction of a national identity. A growing body of scholarship examines the ways in which travel writing produced the colonial subject. As Pratt explains, "books by Europeans about non-European parts of the world went (and

go) about creating the 'domestic subject' of Euroimperialism; they have engaged with metropolitan reading publics with (or to) expansionist enterprises whose material benefits accrued mainly to the very few" (Pratt 4).

Early modern writers of spiritual journeys and recorders of pilgrimages wrote for the same metropolitan audience. Further, they and their readers doubtless knew the popular travel narratives of the day—such as those collected by Hakluyt and Purchas. Still, it is difficult to locate the colonial politics of their work. Indeed, spiritual travellers were often at pains to erase their own material conditions of production. Perhaps, then, it might be useful to invoke Pratt's term, "anti-conquest," by which "the strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony" (7). Instead of proprietal descriptions of place, spiritual travellers, like Rowlandson and Evans and Cheevers, take recourse in Biblical metaphor and geography with which to make sense of the world. As Hall argues, descriptive exploration narratives of Africa help construct a racialized nation. Puritan journeys and Christian pilgrimages, on the other hand, not-so-innocently sexualize that newly racialized, Protestant nation. And they do so by invoking sexual transgression: the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. As much seventeenth-century Puritan writing is intimately connected to the plantation of New England, perhaps it is less than surprising to find those writings negotiate racial and national affiliation. Although the early colonists had some sense of themselves as English, they considered themselves primarily Christian and Protestant, or, more specifically, Puritan. That religious position is articulated in relation to Old England in part as a rejection of London as Sodom, and the English as the metaphorical inhabitants of the Cities on the Plain. In addition to their

sexual transgressions and failure to extend hospitality to strangers, the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, after all, lacked a sufficient number or devout individuals to prevent their destruction. England too, according to outcast Puritans, had fallen from the path of righteousness. In the following section I examine the sexual politics of Puritan New England, sexual politics that underwrite Rowlandson's self-consciousness as a descendent of Lot's wife.

Sodom and the Cities of the Plain: Puritan escape from London to New England

In his article, "New English Sodom," Michael Warner asserts that writing of Sodom "as an example of judgement and a warning for England" was "one of the telltale signs that a Puritan was on the verge of migration" (330).[120] Sodom offers a foundational text for American Puritan culture, and is the necessary correlative of New England, its constitutive outside and paradoxical centre. Although Warner writes of Puritans who

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[120] For his part, Collinson offers this analysis of the relationship between prophetic and polemic use of Biblical examples to suggest pending judgment and national affiliation:

> But if prophetic preaching intensified the nation's sense of its own identity, it also sought to subdue it and drive it inwards, for by its very nature prophetic discourse was anything but triumphalist. It was castigatory, almost never congratulatory, feeding on catastrophe or threatened catastrophe. England was compared to Israel in its disobedience, Israel under judgment: rarely to Israel in its prosperity. ... Like Israel, England had been uniquely favoured. God had not dealt so with any nation. ... But the identification consisted in the scale and enormity of the nation's sins, for like Israel England had been faithless, careless, unthankful. (18)

immigrated to America, Sodom is also integral to much prophetic and hortatory writing by English Puritans.

Warner argues that although the threat of Sodom and its punishment were commonly mentioned in hortatory Puritan writings, and that "in the standard exegesis of the time, Sodom had been destroyed primarily because its male citizens were disposed to have sex with each other" (331), "sexual proscription was not the overt content of the language about Sodom" (331). Instead, he maintains that the "Puritan rhetoric of Sodom had begun as a language about polity and discipline" (Warner 331):

> Because Sodom was the most prominent example of judgment passed upon a polis in all the lore of Christendom, this call for discipline soon made Sodom a commonplace. It is an argument not for what we would call heterosexuality but for public regulation. The fable of Sodom represented, in a way that no other image could, an entire society open to discipline and in need of saving. (Warner 331)

For the New England Puritans, apparently, the threat of Sodom indicated the need for social regulation; but this is always a sexualized social regulation, dependent upon differential visibility/invisibility of always unequal sexual practices or, somewhat anachronistically, sexual identities.[121] "Sodomy could not be securely distinguished from its notorious precedent," Warner insists,

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[121] With historically specific inflections, this differential surveillance, Warner cautiously insists, continues:

> [I]t would be easy to overdraw the contrast between Puritan and modern usages [of the term, sodomy]. Like the much later coinage lesbianism, sodomy still implies, at however fantasmatic a level, a map of sexual knowledges and exotic origins. No other terms in the

> especially in the discourse culture of Puritanism, which tended anyway to collapse the collective and the individual, the literal and the metaphoric. The anathematized sexuality of Sodom was therefore never quite irrelevant, only held in reserve as an ambiguous referent. ... Sexual bodies had been redefined by Puritan thought as social bodies in a way that required public collective management, and many of the earliest complaints about the English church becoming a Sodom were backed up with complaints about unmanaged and unofficial sex ... because the management of the body had been made publicly indicative in a spiritual order. (332)

The threat of Sodom in "old" England not only justifies immigration to New England and sexual surveillance there, but also provides a vocabulary for social regulation in England, understood as the new Israel. As with the New England Puritans who defined themselves in opposition to Sodom only to find it in their midst, England as Israel is always in danger of becoming Sodom.[122]

> language of sexuality have a comparable etymology, as though unlike all other sexual acts—if they even are acts—these two were practices not by individuals but by cities, islands, or nations. This hidden fantasy about the geography of sex continues to exert some influence, primarily in the assumption that sodomitical and lesbian sex are more germane to public politics that other kinds of sex. (332)

[122] New England Puritan men were not the only writers to invoke Sodom as antithetical to a good Christian society. In her 1660 "Warning Unto the City of London," Ester Biddle begins,

> O! The day and hour of thy Visitation is now, O City of London! with all thy Suburbs, and likewise the day, hour, and time of Gods righteous Judgments is at hand, and will be

In his analysis of the positioning of the Sodom story in the midst of Abraham's covenant with God, Robert Alter argues that the slippage between Sodom and Israel is implicit in the text itself.

> Sodom, firmly lodged between the enunciation of the covenantal promise and its fulfillment, becomes the great monitory model, the myth of a terrible collective destiny antithetical to Israel's. The Biblical writers will rarely lose sight of the ghastly possibility that Israel can turn itself into Sodom. (Alter 39)

It is a "ghastly possibility" not lost on generations of interpreters. And it is a spectre that, Warner suggests, challenges the logic of the New World colony just as it had in old England. Of the colonists, he writes,

> They had come there because old England was becoming Sodom. The figurative spatialization of sodomy and its knowledge only protects the local community if Sodom is somewhere else. To speak of sodomy in New England is to create a confusion of inside and outside. If the character of a society is indicated in large part by the presence or absence of such enormities, then the best and worst of societies interpenetrate. (Warner 335)

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executed upon thee in flames of the fire from heaven: O the fury of the Lord! it is terrible, and who may stand, when it waxeth hot, and burneth as a flaming fire: O repent, repent, repent! for thy wickedness surmounteth the wickedness of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, thy pride and ambition far exceedeth *Jerusalems*. (A2)

The defining trope of Puritan geography, the city on the hill Sion, which stands in anxious tension with the cities on the plain—Sodom and Gomorrah—, is both a colonial and a panoptical moment. It is an imperial moment in that pilgrims can master all they survey from its summit.

Panoptical discipline requires the unrelenting visibility of the bodies of the condemned. Equally important for the production of self-surveilling subjects is the visibility of the sanctified—such as the New England Puritans—who are never quite fully opposed to, indeed logically dependent upon, the condemned. As Foucault argues, discipline, like other technologies of power, is not merely repressive but also productive.

> Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise. ... The success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it—the examination. (Foucault 1977, 170)[123]

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[123] Foucault's explication of "the examination" bears more than a passing resemblance to the Puritan practice of professing. The examination, Foucault insists, requires

> a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes, possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth. At the heart of the procedures of discipline, it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected. (184-5)

For her part, Rowlandson is acutely aware of her relationship to Lot's wife. "I understood something of Lot's Wife's Temptation, when she looked back," she recalls midway through her captivity moving farther and farther from Lancaster (20). Later, she recalls the threat of looking backward toward her home, the crime for which Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt. During her twelfth "remove" Rowlandson begins to hope vainly that their path approaches her home.

> But the thoughts of my going homeward (for so we bent our course) much cleared my Spirit, and made my burden seem light, and almost nothing at all. But (to my amazement and great perplexity) the scale was soon turned; for, when we had gone a little way, on a sudden my Mistress gives out she would go no further, but turn back again, and said I must go back again with her. (25)

Rowlandson's active desire for home, rather than waiting passively God's will to be played out in her life, links her with Lot's wife and the punishment meted out upon Sodom.[124] Her journey, with its fear of backward vision, shares much with the logic of

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[124] For this reason, I have to agree Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse's argument in *The Imaginary Puritan* (U California P, 1992) that Rowlandson relies on an abiding sense of Englishness and that she "ends up pretty much where she begins … and her return appears to restore that community's original state of wholeness (211). Arguing against Armstrong and Tennenhouse, Castiglia rejects the idea that Rowlandson "expresses consistent desire for her home culture or that she successfully reintegrates into that culture" (fn6 203). I maintain, however, that Rowlandson's ambivalence about expressing an overt desire for home derives from fear of being associated with Lot's wife. Once she is freed by forces beyond

burgeoning colonial plantation. The presumption of native sexual transgressions, of the prevalence of New World sodomy, erupts into the narratives that circulate about Pocahontas by gendering the Powhatan men as feminine.[125]

Captivity and Female Authority

It is from Biblical associations, and not from historically "accurate" detail, that Mary Rowlandson derives her authority. The framing Preface to her narrative penned "*per amicum*," commonly believed to have been written by Increase Mather, a New England Puritan divine, also bolsters Rowlandson's authority in properly feminine terms by insisting that she was reluctant to publish her voice abroad and only did so when encouraged to provide support to others. As Mather explains:

> This narrative was Penned by this Gentlewoman her self, to be to her a *Memorandum* of God's dealing with her, that she might never forget ... A pious scope, which deserves both commendation and imitation. Some Friends having obtained a sight of it, could not but be so much affected with the many passages of the working providence discovered therein, as to judge it worthy of publick view, and altogether unmeet that such works of God should be hid from present and future Generations; and therefore though this Gentlewoman's modesty would not thrust it into the Press, yet

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her control, she may well successfully reintegrate into her home culture and preserve its centrality in her life.

[125] For a discussion of sodomy in the New World, see Jonathan Goldberg's *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities*. (Stanford UP, 1992): 179-246.

her gratitude unto God, made her not hardly perswadable to let it pass, that God might have his due glory, and others benefit by it as well as her selfe. (Rowlandson 7)

In conjunction with Rowlandson's active refusal to escape, opting rather to await rescue, Mather's insistence upon her unwillingness to enter the "publick view" contributes to the understanding of her "modesty." Reluctant to "thrust" herself into print, Rowlandson's is a quintessentially feminine modesty. That modesty, performed from the safety of the marital home to which she has returned, is one of the conditions of intelligibility of her narrative and her return to the colonists. Had she not performed Christian femininity in precisely this manner, she would not have been able to return or to publish. Even if she could have published her narrative without the markers of feminine self-restraint, it would have not received the kind of commendation Mather lavishes upon it, and upon her.

No such structures of modesty and restraint securing patriarchal approval are in place to ensure Pocahontas's access to authorial subjectivity. As an exemplary convert to Christianity, it seems doubly important that she remain silent and visibly chaste. Pocahontas's authority is called into question even at the level of her name. "Pocahontas," a nickname possibly given to her by John Smith, means "playful one," and replaced her formal name, Matoaka. After her conversion, she was given the name Rebecca, after the Biblical "mother of two nations." The latter name, likely chosen under the guidance of the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, who oversaw her Christian education, carries important connotations for a native woman marrying English men. When carrying the twins, Esau and Jacob, who "struggled together within her," God tells Rebecca, "Two

nations are in they womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people; and the elder shall serve the younger" (Gen. 25:23).

Several critics have noted the importance of Pocahontas's Christian name. Peter Hulme reads Jacob's usurpation of his elder brother's birthright as a "Biblical precedent" that enabled the marriage of John Rolfe and "Rebecca" (Hulme 146). He is also drawn by the colour imagery of the Biblical story. Esau, after all, is born red and hairy. "Rebecca will give birth to *two* nations," Hulme summarizes, "a red and a white, and the red will despise his birthright and sell it for a mess of pottage. And odd exchange perhaps, but a legally binding contract about which Jacob need not reproach himself" (145-146).

Although Hulme's observation that "[n]o text could have sat more comfortably with English desires" (146) is compelling, that comfort rests less with the colour of the two sons, two nations, than with their respective ages. There is, after all, no mention of Jacob's "whiteness" in either the Geneva or King James bibles. This does not mean that the silence around his colouring does not allow him to be read as white by an audience for whom skin colour and facial features were just beginning to enter the vocabulary of racial difference. Rather, it suggests, that these factors were not (yet) the primary way of signifying otherness. Colour did matter for seventeenth-century readers, and it mattered more with the passage of time. More to the point for early seventeenth-century readers, however, was Jacob's comparative youth. European explorers and settlers believed they would find remnants of the Golden Age in the "New World" and spent considerable discursive energies trying to render it thus. Under the Golden Age rubric, the native inhabitants of North America were inheritors of an ancient civilization, one closer to its

presumed idyllic beginnings than the newer, European nations.[126] The choice of "Rebecca" for Pocahontas justifies the usurpation of an elder nation by a younger one. Moreover, it symbolically renders the elder nation culpable for its own downfall. It was Esau, after all, who disrespected his birthright and sold it to his younger brother.[127]

Karen Robertson also analyses the significance of Pocahontas's various names. Following Frances Mossiker's biography of Pocahontas, Robertson concludes: "Rebecca is a name suitable to the bride willing to leave the land of her birth to join her husband in a strange land in an interracial marriage" (Robertson 569). Otherwise, Robertson's

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[126] For discussions of Renaissance mobilizations of the Golden Age motif, see Harry Levin's *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969) and Hugh Honour's *The New Golden Land: European Images of America.* (London: Allen Lane, 1975). For a discussion of early modern debates about whether Native North Americans were descendants of one of the twelve tribes of Israel, see Amy Sturgis's "Prophesies and Politics: Millenarians, Rabbis, and the Jewish Indian Theory" (*Seventeenth Century* 1999): 15-23.

[127] Bacon reverses precisely this belief in the old age of the New World's peoples and invents a second Biblical flood that wiped out their older civilization rendering them an infant people. The English castaways' Bensalemite host relates the glorious past of "'Atlantis (that you call America),'" and explains that "'Divine Revenge overtook not long after those proud enterprises. For within less than the space of one hundred years, the great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed … by a particular deluge or inundation.'" This "particular" flood arrived some thousand years after Noah's flood and accounts for the inhabitants' comparative "ignorance." "'[M]arvel you not at the thin population of America,'" he cautions the English explorers, "'nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people; for you must account your inhabitants of american as a young people; younger a thousand years, at the least, than the rest of the world.'" In each case, the rendering of the New World's ancient roots, whether they demonstrate the inhabitants' "youth" or their "old age," are mobilized to the disadvantage of the indigenous inhabitants.

purpose diverges from Mossiker's triumphalist reading of Pocahontas as "the made-to order American heroine, the very one to figure in a heroical, historical myth, the perfect mythic persona" (Mossiker 321-322). On Mossiker's reading, Pocahontas retains her status as heroine flung amidst a motley bunch of rogues, and Mossiker wastes no time pointing fingers at the imperialist and racist assumptions of the English men who came into contact with her. Rather than use the figure of Pocahontas through which to read the various English men who documented her life for their own admittedly dubious but ultimately unknowable political ends, however, Robertson cautions that the "limitations of the documents do not allow the production of a narrative of a subject who viewed and judged the English but do allow the tracing of her shadow with European texts, disturbances that mark an alternative presence" (552).[128]

Although it's too simplistic to suggest that captivity produces female authorial subjectivity, the connection is a tempting one. Certainly, anyone who or anything that exceeds socially acceptable boundaries becomes unintelligible, psychotic. There is no sense-making outside the elastic confines of social signifying practices. But the economy of signification available to Rowlandson is not available to Pocahontas because she *is* the metaphor, she is the paradoxical "Praying Indian." The idea Pocahontas the successful convert allows the men who write about her to advance the colony's economic goals under the guise of a proselytising mission without actually opening up a position from

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[128] This focus on ruptures within the texts that describe Pocahontas rather than using them to vituperate their authors prevents the danger of "judging the past from the presumed truth of the present" (Foucault, "Nietszche, Genealogy, History") while still allowing Robertson to undertake a politically motivated critique.

which the "Praying Indian" can speak. In contrast to Rowlandson whose chastity and piety permit her even conditional or temporary access to print, Pocahontas's chastity and conversion are always under suspicion.[129] Even her future husband, John Rolfe, suggests that he is under her spell. In his letter to Governor Dale asking permission to marry Pocahontas, Rolfe disavows his plan is a product of "unbridled desire of carnall affection" (Hamor 63). Instead, he insists, this miscegenous marriage is

> for the good of this plantation for the honour of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my owne salutation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbelieving creature namely Pokahuntas. To whom my hartie and best thoughts are, and have a long time bin so intangled, and inthralled in so intricate a laborinth, that I was even awearied to unwinde myselfe thereout. (Hamor 63)

Even after her conversion, Pocahontas remains the enchantress to whom Rolfe is enthralled. She is still a "treacherous" native who holds the European man captive and is, as a result, never believably "chaste." Like her compatriots, she could turn against the settlers at any time.

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[129] This reading runs the risk of robbing Pocahontas of agency. Her silence, however, is palpable, and I am trying to suggest what forces structure that silence. Her silence is also legible. For a discussion of the rhetoric of silence in early modern women's lives, see Joan Gibson's "Educating For Silence: Renaissance Women and the Language Arts," *Hypatia* 4:1 (1989): 9-27. For a reading of Pocahontas's silences, see Robertson (1996).

Producing Pocahontas: Kidnap and "Treacherie"

Pocahontas haunts the narratives of several of the early Virginia colonists. In Raphe Hamor's summary of his term as Secretary of the colony, she is sandwiched between claims of proselytising and profit, between tales of the "treachery" of the natives and the successful "negotiations" of the English. Hamor follows the model set by Hakluyt's compendium of travel narratives, *The Principall Navigations Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589/90, 2nd ed. 1598-1600), which constructs a glorious English history of travel and conquest. As Emily Bartels suggests, his *Principall Navigations* can, and should, be read alongside his unpublished letter to Elizabeth I, *The Discourse on Western Planting,* and both together articulate conversion and trade (here rendered as settlement or plantation) as interdependent (Bartels).

Hakluyt appeals to the Queen's piety, strategic mind, and her vanity when he suggests that not only would plantation in Virginia prove profitable, but the natives would also provide excellent fodder for conversion to Protestant Christianity. He reminds her that England is in danger of falling behind Spain in their active program of conversion in the New World. Specifically, he argues that England is falling behind Spain not just in the acquisition of foreign lands but also in converts to the national religion. The Church of England, he insists, is "insular" as a result. This slight motivates early English voyages and plantations. In addition to material wealth, Hakluyt insists, foreign plantations will secure Protestant converts for England. Whether conversion is the justification for expansion or vice versa is not quite beside the point, but the two concerns are so thoroughly intertwined in Hakluyt's letter as to be inseparable.

Despite the fact that Hakluyt's letter remained unpublished until late in the eighteenth century, its sentiments were so prevalent that Hamor can link trade and conversion without explanation. Not only does he describe Virginia as "a businesse so full of piety" (A4v) but in his second "Preface to the Reader"—placed between his narrative of the colony and the various letters from Dale, Rolfe, and the colony's minister, Alex Whitaker—he assembles at the end, Hamor insists that because of the presence of these two elements, the colony possesses the two most important virtues, "excellence (worth) and durability":

> [F]or what is more excellent, more precious and more glorious, then to convert a heathen Nation from worshipping the divell, to the saving knowledge, and true worship of God in Christ Jesus? What more praiseworthy and charitable, then to bring a savage people from barbarisme unto civillitie? What more honourable unto our countrey, then to reduce a farre disjoined forraigne nation, under the due obedience of our dread Soveraigne the Kings majesties? What more convenient then to have good seates abroade for our ever flowing multitudes of people at home? What more profitable then to purchase great wealth, which most now adaies gape after over-greedily. (48)

Pocahontas, the native woman convert to Christianity and hostage used to negotiate with the Powhatan, occupies the conflicted space between white and native men, between English claims of civilizing conversion and "over-greedy" profiteering.

Dale, Whitaker, and Hamor take turns trumpetting Pocahontas's conversion. Of the three, Whitaker, the minister, is the most understated, and probably was the most

closely involved in her Christian education. His letter, addressed to his cousin, assures that the colony is much improved, and credits that improvement with the arrival of Governor Dale:

> Sir Thomas Dale our religious and valiant Governour, hath now brought that to passe, which never before could be effected. For by warre upon our enemies, and kinde usage of our friends, he hath brought them to seeke for peace of us, which is made, and they dare not breake. But that which is best, one Pocahontas or Matoa the daughter of Powhatan, is married to an honest and discrete English Gentleman Maister Rolfe, and that after she had openly renounced her country Idolatry, confessed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptized; which thing Sir Thomas Dale had laboured along time to ground in her. (Hamor 59-60)

According to Whitaker, Dale has effected both the colony's newfound peace and Pocahontas's conversion. For his part, Dale embraces his role in her conversion: "Powhatans daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in Christian Religion" (55). What is so interesting about Whitaker's version, however, is that the strategies for ensuring peace, "by warre upon our enemies, and kinde usage of our friends" or playing one group of Indians off another, is linked to Pocahontas's rejection of her "country Idolatry." Although I do not doubt the sincerity of Whitaker's claim that her baptism is the "best" part of his news, the conversion of the native woman is rendered part of the English peacekeeping strategy. Indeed, in Hamor's *Report,* Pocahontas slides back and forth between being a voluntary convert and a hostage used in ongoing negotiations with her father and brothers.

Pocahontas's capture produces ruptures between warring groups of natives. Hamor's telling of the event renders the Indian participants culpable. On several of his journeys to the colony, Samuel Argall ventures inland for trade and exploration. On one such voyage he hears that Pocahontas is "desirous to renue her familiaritie with the English" (4). But as Hamor reveals, the ascription of desire to Pocahontas is belied by the strategies to which Argall resorts.

> [N]o sooner had Captaine Argall intelligence, but he delt with an old friend, and adopted brother of his Iapazeus, how and by what meanes he might procure hir captive assuring him, that now or never, was the time to pleasure him, if he entended indeede that love which he had made profession of, that in ransome of her he might redeeme some of our English men and armes, now in the possession of her Father, promising to use her withal faire, and gentle entreaty. (Hamor 4)

The language of this passage belies the overt claims of the colonists that Pocahontas sought an alliance with them. Not only does Argall threaten Iapazeus, telling him "now or never" could he secure Argall's approval, but the language suggests that Pocahontas was not the one instigating contact. Argall must, after all, "procure hir captive," and, suggestively, procurement carries associations to prostitution. Argall enlists the help of Iphazeus who, in turn, enlists the help of his wife. The two, as the story goes, construct an elaborate ruse in which Iphazeus's wife pretends to want to visit Argall's ship; her husband will not allow it, however, for reasons of feminine modesty. She pleads with Pocahontas to accompany her and cries when she hesitates. The narrative links Indian and feminine treachery and in so doing feminizes the natives for their dissembling.

In similar fashion, Hamor and other early journalists of contact represent natives who alternate between being hospitable and hostile in an unpredictable fashion. Robert Juet's *Journal* of his 1609 voyage with Henry Hudson to Newfoundland and along the northeastern coast is a paradigmatic example of this oscillation. An early encounter with the indigenous inhabitants is described as mutually beneficial:

> July 17: At ten of the cloke two Boates came off to us, with six of the savages of the Countrey, seeming glad of our coming. We gave them trifles, and they eate and dranke with us. (Juet 14)

In return, the "savages" tell the explorers about gold, silver, copper mines, as well as previous contact with French explorers. Juet tells of a subsequent encounter that involved "people coming aboard [who] showed us great friendship, but we could not trust them" (14). This increasing suspicion appears to justify the English attack on July 25, barely a week later.

> In the morning wee manned our Scute with foure Muskets, and sixe men, and tooke one of their Shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our Boat and Scute with twelve men and Muskets, and two stone Pieces or Murderers, and drave the Savages from their Houses, and tooke the spoyle of them, *as they would have done of us*. (15 emphasis added)

Presumed native "treacherie" (37) justifies the English attack. Up to this point, however, there has been no indication that this is how the natives would proceed. In fact, different groups on the shore continue to instruct the explorers where to fish and trade much-needed maize and highly prized green tobacco with the English. The hospitality, however, is credited to the land rather than the people. "The people have green Tabacco,

and pipes, the boles whereof are made of Earthe, and the pipes of red Copper. The Land is very sweet," Juet concludes (18).[130] Native "treachery," however, proves useful to Samuel Argall. Indeed, Iapazeus and his wife's betrayal of Pocahontas is integral to Hamor's telling of her capture and to Argall's plot to secure her as a hostage. He both needs and secures their "treachery."

The spectre of native "treachery" and irrational behaviour underwrites Rowlandson's rendering of the reception she receives from her hosts, a reception that alternates between genuine kindness and threats of violence, similarly incomprehensible. Her captors sometimes treat her with great consideration and sometimes with overt hostility. At least one exchange with a woman who had offered Rowlandson food left her utterly perplexed:

> being incouraged by the Squaw's kindness who bade me come again; when I was there, there came an *Indian* to look after me; who, when he had found me, kickt me all along; I went home, and found Venison roasting that night, but they would not give me one bit of it. Sometimes I met with Favour, and sometimes with nothing but Frowns. (25)

Although Rowlandson represents herself as a perpetual outsider, unable to interpret the complex social codes of her captors, she does manage to enter into exchange relations with the Indians and surprises herself with her adaptability over food. Although she

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[130] Such representations of natives' changeable hospitality, it almost goes without saying, make no attempt to understand motives for the varied reactions from different nations at different times. And there is certainly no attempt to locate any one incident in light of local history, politics, or methods of governance particular to each nation.

would be loathe to admit it as it would threaten her reintegration into colonial society as a properly Christian goodwife, Rowlandson makes small adjustments to life amongst the "heathen."

The narratives that surround both Pocahontas and Rowlandson actively prefer confinement within the bounds of Christian marriage to the "dangers" of life amongst the "heathens." But then the narratives are designed for an audience presumed to agree, and marriage is a containment that renders intelligible Rowlandson's sufferings—the loss of her youngest child, her fears for her life and those of her son and daughter, her constant struggle to find enough to eat, her inability to comprehend her hosts' actions—and renders Pocahontas's transition to Christian wife invisible. Both women are presumed liberated from forced or unknowing captivity into freely chosen bonds. That presumption, however, informs what can be written about or by either woman.

The "Praying Indian" and Early Modern "Race"

Comparing Rowlandson and Pocahontas underscores the limitations of either denying "race" as an early modern classificatory schema or of simply translating backward modern understandings of race. Neither model can account for the hybrid category "Praying Indian." The suggestion that "race" is only a modern category insists that it supplanted an earlier rubric under which religious affiliation was the dominant mode of determining group membership. A paradigm that privileged religious conversion over physiological features, however, would have no need of such a mixed classification for the converts would become merely fellow Christians. The hybrid term "Praying Indian" displays what Marjorie Garber, writing on transvestism, calls "category crisis": "a failure

of definitional distinction, a borderline that becomes permeable, that permits of border crossings from one (apparently distinct) category to another" (13). Indian converts cross from Indian to Christian but, in so doing, undermine the particularity of each.[131] Neither their prayerfulness nor their heritage fully accounts for Indian converts and their presence undermines the stability and internal coherence of either religion or place of birth as early modern racial designations. The threat of dissembling, however, the threat Rowlandson identifies of Indians who, she assumes, merely pretend conversion combines with the feminized treachery that Europeans read onto the Native men involved in Pocahontas's kidnap to suggest a reconfigured understanding of race, an reconfiguration required to keep "others" in their subservient place in spite of conversion to Christianity.

From the opposite direction, Peter Hulme implicitly accepts the transhistoricity of race and reads a modern rendering of Indian's putative "redness" backward. In the documents of the Virginia plantation examined here, Native North Americans are only ever described as "black," and this coloration attached primarily to their presumed sinfulness. But, as Hall argues, "black" is also a racial designation in addition to a religious one. Although pigmentation and appearance are not the primary signifiers of race in early modern England, skin colour is far from devoid of meaning. But the meanings that attach to early modern representations of skin colour are not identical with our own mappings. This recognition has the advantage of denaturalizing race as a stable, ontological category. Moreover, historicizing strategies of racialization allows us to

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[131] Similarly, Garber argues that a "transvestite figure in a text … indicates … an irresolvable conflict or epistemological crux that destabilizes comfortable binarity" (13).

examine the specific ways in which early modern women negotiate always protean understandings of race.

Conclusion

This project began with the hope/belief that sixteenth-century travel writings provided the ideological conditions of possibility for seventeenth-century utopian imaginings, that the two genres were inextricably intertwined. Moreover, I expected to find that early modern female utopian writers participated in a colonial rhetoric inherited from travel narratives that their male contemporaries arguably deployed in their utopian visions. As Amy Boesky suggests, travel writing fills the gap between More's *Utopia* (1516) and the utopias of the Interregnum, and links the two moments with a shared interest in mobility. My initial hopes, however, turned out to be only partly true. First, there are at least as many differences between utopian fictions and travel narratives as similarities, particularly when utopian projects reach the New World. Suggestively, both More's *Utopia* and Bacon's *New Atlantis* are modelled as travel narratives. Raphael Hythloday, for example, recounts his journey to Amaurotum to Morus; the unnamed captain and his crew are shipwrecked upon Bensalem in Bacon's later contribution to the genre. Conversely, utopian elements are scattered throughout sixteenth-century explorers' accounts. In his *Discoverie of Guiana*, Ralegh waxes euphoric about the gold to be found in the New World, and all the early writers on the Virginia plantation describe Edenic plenty and docile natives. The two modes of writing, however, do not map neatly onto one another.

As this project suggests, it is as difficult to separate utopian and travel writing into two distinct genres as it is to read them together. Like More's *Utopia* and Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Cavendish's *Blazing World* and "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" both relate imaginary journeys to other worlds, and these imaginary places offer a utopian corrective

to the writer's world. But the utopian impulse in Cavendish's writing is not limited to her travel fantasies. Even conservative catalogues of literary utopias include her "Inventory of Judgement's Commonwealth" (1655), which is a catalogue of desired social and political changes almost completely devoid of any narrative frame, never mind a travel conceit. Moreover, her feminist utopian plays, *The Convent of Pleasure* and *The Female Academy*, fit awkwardly into a rubric that insists on the similarities between travel and utopia. As numerous feminist critics have argued, any feminist utopia that takes gender relations as its primary site for analysis and critique, as do these plays, has an ambiguous relation to the utopian canon. Even more ambiguous is the relation between Cavendish's feminist utopias and her own physical and social mobility.

Cavendish's utopias, however—including those not structured by imaginary voyages—are underwritten by colonial traffic. This is a trait she shares with Bacon. While his interests in New World plantation were a literal investment in the Virginia Company, however, Cavendish's writings render plantations as the safety valve required to secure peace at home. Sending the unruly (lower class, male) mob to the New World, she hoped, would mean that the Newcastles and their ilk—other English aristocrats displaced by the Civil War—would be able to return to their former, comfortable lives. Hers, then, is a utopian project that desires to conserve the privileges that accrue to her as an aristocrat at the same time as she resists the limitations placed upon women, especially in marriage. These utopian desires depend upon a static understanding of home, rather than the ability to travel. As it was to her, overseas travel is an ordeal for the heroines of Cavendish's utopian imaginings. In several of her writings, Cavendish also assails the pretensions of her male contemporaries who return from jaunts to the Continent in pursuit

of gentlemanly education. Travel, her *Convent of Pleasure* and *Female Academy* seem to suggest, is antithetical to a utopian rewriting of marriage and female education. But imaginary travel in *The Blazing World* and "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" is the condition of possibility for each heroine's access to political and scientific authority otherwise denied early modern women.

The millennial desiring of Mary Cary's mid-century visions cannot be neatly contained within a travel-utopia continuum. Indeed, Fifth Monarchists appear to have been quite disinterested in earthly travel and were one of the few sects that had no overseas missionary activity. Instead, an understanding of a large exilic population necessarily informed their millenialist hopes. Like other Fifth Monarchists, Cary believed that the Bible offered the key to understanding world history and was a blueprint for political change. She used Biblical prophecies to construct her own vision of a paradise on earth. She and other Fifth Monarchists believed that paradise, a "New Jerusalem," would be centred at London. Cary's chiliastic vision also required universal Jewish conversion to Christianity. Although she offers no detailed program for achieving large-scale conversion—an oversight that suggests she believed it would occur instantaneously through Divine intervention—she speaks of Jewish conversion using the future anterior, the tense of desire. Moreover, her hermeneutic practice led her to follow the English translators of the Bible who, as Greenfeld points out, use "nation" as a synonym for many of the Hebrew words signifying the Israelites, words that translate more closely as "land" or "people." The reification of the Israelites as a "nation," however, allows ancient Israel, belatedly produced as the generic and originary nation, to be mapped onto contemporary England. The superimposition of the Israel and the Israelites onto early modern England

and, by extension, onto the English, combined with Cary's active desiring for Jewish conversion, underwrites her Puritan nationalism. Here, however, utopian mobility is limited to the translation of vocabularies, a certain lability of metaphors for national membership that renders England as the New Israel.

The utopian impulse that subtends Evans and Cheevers's travel and captivity narratives is not located in New World desiring. Rather, as seventeenth-century Quaker writings on marriage make clear, their reconfigured understanding of marriage attempts to return the institution to its Edenic ideal, to wrest it from earthly corruption. And it is that utopian interpretation of marriage that Evans and Cheevers invoke when held captive in Malta. Their description of themselves as married and inseparable is, in part, an attempt to counter the anti-marriage stance of their captors, but it also serves as a condemnation of the Inquisitors, a condemnation that extends beyond each faith's teaching on marriage. Moreover, Quaker understandings of men's and women's equal access to the Light and to public ministry combine with Quaker Women's meetings authority over marriage to subvert the presumed hierarchy of relationships in a woman's life. As a result, Quaker utopic conceptions of marriage facilitate Evans and Cheevers's desire and ability to travel.

Mary Rowlandson's life is informed by two modes of travel: the recitation of the flight from Sodom that subtends Puritan migration to the New World, and the series of forced "removes" during her captivity. Interestingly, "removal" is the word used for both transatlantic migration and for the twenty changes of camp Rowlandson undergoes during her time among the Narragansett. These two types of mobility stand in anxious tension with the kidnap, conversion, and reverse migration—from Virginia to England—

that account for Pocahontas's life. Rowlandson's captivity and rescue, and her performance of "goodwifeliness" while in captivity, enable her literary production. Pocahontas, on the other hand, is rendered silent by her conversion and marriage. Her death in England after a short season on display at court permanently silences Pocahontas. Both lives, as rendered for an English-speaking audience, rely upon burgeoning English national sentiment, increasingly phenotypic understandings of race, and heteronormativity for their intelligibility. In particular, the feminine "treachery" that Argall locates in the Powhatan men's willingness to help him kidnap Pocahontas renders them implicitly sodomitical. Fifty years later, strategies of racialization had shifted to include physical features but retained, in Rowlandson's description of deceitful "Praying Indians," a sense of feminine dissembling.

Complicity/Resistance

> [T]he ambivalent location of women in the colonial economy or representation has created what has come to be known as the 'complicity / resistance' dialectic, a scheme whose primary goal is to show how women saw empire as an opportunity for freedom and advancement but found it impossible, given their own subordinate positions in the domestic economy, to unconditionally valorize the imperial voice.
>
> —Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*

Simon Gikandi's useful analysis of the "ambivalent" position Victorian women bore with respect to nineteenth-century Imperialism provides a heuristic tool for considering the travel and visionary writing of English women two centuries earlier. Gikandi's "complicity/resistance dialectic," however, does not map neatly onto seventeenth-century women travellers. For one thing, sites of "feminist" resistance were considerably different two hundred years earlier. Further, it is not at all clear that seventeenth-century

English women "saw empire as an opportunity for freedom and advancement." There are, of course, exceptions, and Margaret Cavendish is most clear that her utopian/imaginary travel narrative, *The Blazing World*, offers its heroine the opportunity for the intellectual community and political authority denied its author. The kidnapped woman of the narrative's opening becomes Empress of the New World where she is shipwrecked and presides over numerous academies of learning. Moreover, the narrator laments her inability to stage her own plays in "the blinking world of wit," the world from which she came. Certainly, the highly aristocratic Duchess of Newcastle occupied an incredibly complicitous position with respect to colonial economies. Her husband, pictured in at least one portrait with African slaves, lost most of his fortune during their Interregnum exile on the continent. Cavendish returned to England at one point to lobby for his properties, and the conclusion to her *Blazing World* includes an imaginary trial in which William's properties are restored to him. In addition, in her collection of essays, *Orations on Divers Occasions,* Cavendish links colonial plantations with domestic peace. According to her "Oration for Sending out Colonies," sending young, rebellious men overseas would prevent future Civil Wars and, by extension, secure her and her husband's economic positions, so devastated by the policies of Cromwell.

In addition to her critique of women writers' lack of access to theatrical production and her lament that women in her world could conquer countries as did Caesar, Cavendish also offers an explicit critique of seventeenth-century women's position within marriage in her play *The Convent of Pleasure.* At the play's outset, the Convent's founder, Lady Happy, insists that wealthy women who could support themselves would be fools to marry and become slaves to men. In so doing, Cavendish

tropes on slavery in order to represent the position of married women. She then constructs an enclosed, female space available only to wealthy women, a space subtended by exploitative colonial trade relations. Cavendish's utopias demonstrate once more that the association of marriage and slavery cannot automatically be read as abolitionist. As Mary Louise Pratt argues in her analysis of the eighteenth-century "Inkle and Yarico" phenomenon, such romantic notions erase the material realities of slavery.

The writings of Puritan women who travelled, often leaving families behind, to preach to and convert indigenous populations do not necessarily invoke such an explicit critique of contemporary gender relations that Gikandi finds in nineteenth-century Imperial feminists. For example, Joan Vokins, who travelled extensively through the New World, does not critique contemporary gender relations in her celebratory tract, *Gods Mighty Power Magnified* (1691). The absence of such an explicit critique stands despite the fact that her narrative offers a testament to female community: Vokins met and travelled briefly with a large number of mostly unnamed women friends. Moreover, she interrupted her travels at one point to return to England to defend separate Quaker Women's Meetings.

Although Gikandi's quote cited above resonates with some seventeenth-century texts, as I hope I have demonstrated, too easy a transhistorical acceptance of his position occludes writings that do not fit this model. Indeed, the conditions of intelligibility for early modern gendered subjectivity are not identical to post-Enlightenment subject formation. It is not just a matter of historicizing Gikandi's analysis in order to maintain its usefulness across large expanses of time, although my comments above speak to precisely such a project. Rather, it must be recognized that the forms of seventeenth-

century complicity and ambivalence occur elsewhere for seventeenth-century women than for their later counterparts.

For example, seventeenth-century English women's travel and utopian writings exist in tension with an impulse to cloister and contain. The impulse outward to travel stands in relation to gendered domestic spaces that offer one condition of possibility for early modern, male-authored utopian New World quests. Feminized, insular, domestic spaces provided a counterpoint to a "masculine," outward impulse to travel; in fact, the former offered one condition of possibility for early modern, male-authored utopian New World quests. Interestingly, Cavendish, Mary Astell, and Marie de l'Incarnation view enclosed spaces as sites of resistance, spaces that function in addition to or alongside travel away from home. The discourses of captivity and rescue, as played out in the lives of Mary Rowlandson and Pocahontas, also negotiate gendered and racialized relations of authorship and access to speech that stretch Gikandi's thesis. My engagement with Gikandi's "complicity/resistance" dialectic, then, implicitly interrogates the sites of complicity and the modes of resistance in their seventeenth-century specificities.

Most importantly for my project, Gikandi's thesis does not account for Evans and Cheevers's writings. The two Quaker women left their families behind and were en route to Alexandria via Istanbul when they were captured and detained in Malta for three years. Although their plan had been to meet with and to convert the Sultan, the terms of their writings and the sites of resistance available to them were altered by the terms of their incarceration. One of their strategies of resistance was to represent themselves as married and inseparable. That with which they were complicit and that with which these women

travellers resisted do not, I think, line up neatly with Gikandi's Victorian women travellers.

Directions for Future Research

As with any long project, numerous diversionary topics suggested themselves along the course of this one. Many of those alternative trajectories were jettisoned in the interests of focus and coming to an utterly arbitrary (but necessary) conclusion. At least three of these diversions merit further study: the erotics of early modern female friendship, the migration of Puritan English nationalism to the New World, and the representation of Jews in Civil War writings, specifically those of Margaret Fell Fox.

The Erotics of Early Modern Female Friendship

Although male-male friendship was the very warp and weft of the fabric of early modern culture, particularly among humanist men of letters, relations between women garner scant attention from their contemporaries. While male friendship has garnered great interest from classical times to the present, female friendship has too often been relegated to the realm of the invisible, or worse, the impossible. In his famous essay on friendship, Montaigne dismisses friendship in marriage. Women, he insists, lack the necessary intellectual capacity. My postdoctoral project will begin with an examination of writings on male friendship beginning with Cicero through to Montaigne and Bacon. I would pay particular attention to the representation of the (im)possibilities for female friendship and to the erotics of male intimacy. As Alan Bray and Jeffrey Masten have argued, male friendship exists in anxious proximity to sodomy. There is, however, no exact equivalent

to "sodomy" for early modern women—"tribades" occupy a slightly different function. My reading of Evans and Cheevers's eroticized travelling friendship suggests the limitations of mapping directly onto contemporary female friendships Bray's groundbreaking work on the perverse symmetry between lauded masculine friends and detested sodomites. Moreover, with the possible exception of Quakers, relationships between women remain largely invisible and difficult to excavate. This is particularly true for non-aristocratic—that is, most—women.

Although early modern culture was profoundly homosocial, the possibilities for community were not as readily, nor as visibly, available to women as they were to men. For example, men's conduct manuals of the period are deeply invested in detailing appropriate relationships between male friends. Richard Braithwait's *The English Gentleman* (1630), for example, dedicates an entire chapter to masculine friendship. His companion volume, *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), on the other hand, emphasizes schooling women in how to be and seem virtuous in their relations with men. As a result, women's relationships with one another are rendered invisible. As Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford explain, "[m]ost female friendships were based in activities and oral traditions rather than in literary culture [and] we shall probably never know what women said among themselves when no men were present" (231). Similarly, Valerie Traub (1994) has argued that early modern "lesbian" desire remains invisible except when it threatens the reproductive imperative. There are, however, numerous places to begin an investigation into the erotics of early modern female friendship.

This project would take advantage of the recent critical interest in Book IV of *The Fairie Queene*, "The Legend of Friendship," and will revisit and extend Jonathan

Goldberg's important work on male homoerotics in Spenser's epic. Collaborative authorship between such women as sisters Elizabeth Brackley and Jane Cavendish and Quaker missionaries Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers will be the focus of another section. I would examine the availability to women writers of what Masten has termed "homoerotic collaboration," the prevailing mode of dramatic production prior to the seventeenth century. Frances Boothby's *Marcelia; or, the Treacherous Friend* (1670) will provide me the opportunity to explore betrayal and treachery in women's erotic lives. In addition, the letters between Margaret and Anne Clifford, the fictionalized letters Margaret Cavendish wrote to an imaginary female friend, and Katherine Philips's quite sober celebration of female friendship will provide useful examples of the range of early modern women's intimate relationships with one another.

The Migration of Puritan English Nationalism

Like Cary, the New England Puritan minister John Eliot wrote utopian visions derived from Biblical texts. Although he immigrated to New England in 1631 and spent the rest of his life there, his utopian *Christian Commonwealth* (1659) was published in London. His publishing history demonstrates the existence of a transatlantic dialogue of Christian utopian visions. Eliot is of particular interest, as his utopian practice included active missionary work amongst Native peoples. He was instrumental in furthering the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England." To that end he learned Native languages (Algonkian), published his *Indian Grammar Begun* in 1666, and made an attempt to count the "Praying Indians" in Massachusetts. He followed up these

publications with translations of Biblical texts into Algonkian, and published manuals for instructing Indians in English: *Indian Dialogues* (1671) *Logick Primer* (1672).

I would like to examine Eliot's life and work in the context of emergent early modern English and American senses of nationhood. In particular, I would look to his mobilization of early modern tropes of nationhood: Sodom/Sion, lightness/darkness, treachery/betrayal, and marital discourse. I hypothesize that the early modern Puritan understanding of nationhood migrated with some of the early Puritans, and I would seek to examine how that emergent sense of national identity was altered in the process.

The Representation of Jews in Civil War Writing

After a 365-year expulsion, Jews were quietly readmitted to England in 1655. This did not, however, result in an influx of continental Jews into England. Conversely, the expulsion did not completely eradicate Jews from England. The question then becomes, why bother with a token legal readmission? The readmission occurred in conjunction with a widespread Hebraizing impulse. Seventeenth-century English interest in Judaism, however, actually had little to do with actual Jews, but with what they represented to Cromwell's Puritan supporters, who were interested in Jews as possible converts. If the chosen people of the Bible (the first elect nation) "returned" to England and convert to Christianity, the theory went, their return would cement England as the New Israel, London as the New Jerusalem, the English as the New Israelites and elect nation, and would bring about the New Heaven and New Earth.

Margaret Fell Fox was one of the prominent writers to advocate for Jewish readmission into England. Like Cary, however, Fell's knowledge of Jews stemmed from

her own extensive knowledge of the Old Testament. Although Fell addresses Menasseh Ben Israel in one of her seven publications to urge Jewish conversion, there is no indication that the two ever met. Fell was one of the most active writers on the topic of Jewish conversion.[132] Moreover, although she took pains to have her *Loving Salutation* translated first into Dutch and then into Hebrew by Spinoza, all her tracts on Jews were published in London for an English, primarily Quaker, audience. The relationship she and Cary articulate between Jews, Jewish conversion, and themselves tells us more about the writers and their audiences' expectations than about seventeenth-century Judaism.

There are some notable exceptions to the prevailing English interest in Jews as an index of England's election. Joanna Cartwright was one. Writing from religiously tolerant Amsterdam with its vibrant Jewish community, Cartwright argued for the readmission of Jews into England in her 1648 pamphlet, *The Petition of the Jews*. Such a project would also examine Menasseh Ben Israel's petition for Jewish asylum in/ readmission to England along with Joanna Cartwright's philo-Semitic writings and the 1655 Whitehall debate on readmission.

Cavendish remains curiously absent from my list of future directions. That is not meant to indicate that I feel in any way "finished" with her voluminous body of work. Indeed, I

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[132] Between 1656 and 1668 she published *For Menasseh ben Israel. The Call of the Jews out of Babylon* (London: Giles Calvert, 1656), *A Loving Salutation to the Seed of Abraham* (London 1656), *The Second Call to the Seed of Israel* (London, 1657), *A Call to the Universal Seed of God* (London, 1664), *A Call unto the Seed of Israel* (London, 1668), *The Daughter of Sion Awakened* (London, 1677), and *A Call unto the Seed of Israel* (London: Robert Wilson, 1668).

have only scratched the surface of her "literary" output here and have left her scientific and philosophical writings almost untouched. There has, however, been something of an explosion in Cavendish studies in the past five years. To date, there have been four international conferences devoted to her life and work, at least two special issues of journals on Cavendish (*In-Between* 2001 and *Women's Writing* 1997), numerous articles and dissertation chapters, one monograph (Battigelli), several book chapters devoted entirely to Cavendish, and a flourish of modern editions of sections of her writings.[133] At this point, it remains uncertain what directions these studies might take and how my own contributions may, or may not, speak to those developments. Sujata Iyengar's forthcoming article on race in Cavendish, for example, may require careful rethinking of my argument about Cavendish's strategies of othering.[134] If I were to revisit this material, however, I would consider *The Female Academy* and *The Convent of Pleasure* in light of contemporary representations of female education and schools. Moreover, I would read the contradictions and tensions between the two plays rather than viewing them as participating in the same proto-imperialist project.

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[133] For an up-to-date and ongoing list, see Jim Fitzmaurice's bibliography at http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jbf/CavBiblio.html.

[134] See Sujata Iyengar, "Royalist, Romancer, Racialist: Rank, Race and Gender in the Science and Fiction of Margaret Cavendish" *ELH* (forthcoming 2002). Iyengar argues "that instead of reflecting a seventeenth century confusion about racial categories, skin colour, and species-difference, Cavendish's animal-men and the different kinds of work they do reflect an emergent modern notion of racial difference (manifested as species difference or polygenesis, inflected by issues of labour)" (personal communication).

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